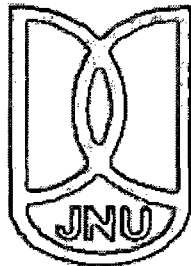


**ISSUES AND CONCERNS IN CANADIAN
ARCTIC REGION**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Date: 26.07.2010

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "ISSUES AND CONCERNS IN CANADIAN ARCTIC REGION", submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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Dedicated to.....

Maa & Papa

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Manjuma Sonowal

New Delhi

26th July, 2010

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Arctic Athabaskan Council
ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMEC	Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation Program
AWPPA	Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act
BEAC	Barents Euro- Arctic Council
CF	Canadian Forces
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DEW	Distant Early Warning
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
DND	Department of National Defence
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTC	Gwich' Tribal Council
G8	Group of Eight
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Council
ICJ	International court of Justice
ISA	International Seaboard Authority
IPS	International Policy Statement
IPY	International Polar Year
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCM	Nordic Council of Ministers
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NORAD	North American Aerospace Defense Command
NWP	North West Passage
NWT	North West Territories

NDFP	Northern Dimension of Foreign Policy
POP	Persistent Organic Pollutant
RAIPON	Russian Association of Indigenous People of North
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SARSAT	Search and Rescue Satellite
SCFAIT	Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade
SLCM	Submarine Launched Cruise Missiles
SLBM	Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
USGS	United States Geological Survey
WMO	World Metrological Organization

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Chapter : 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

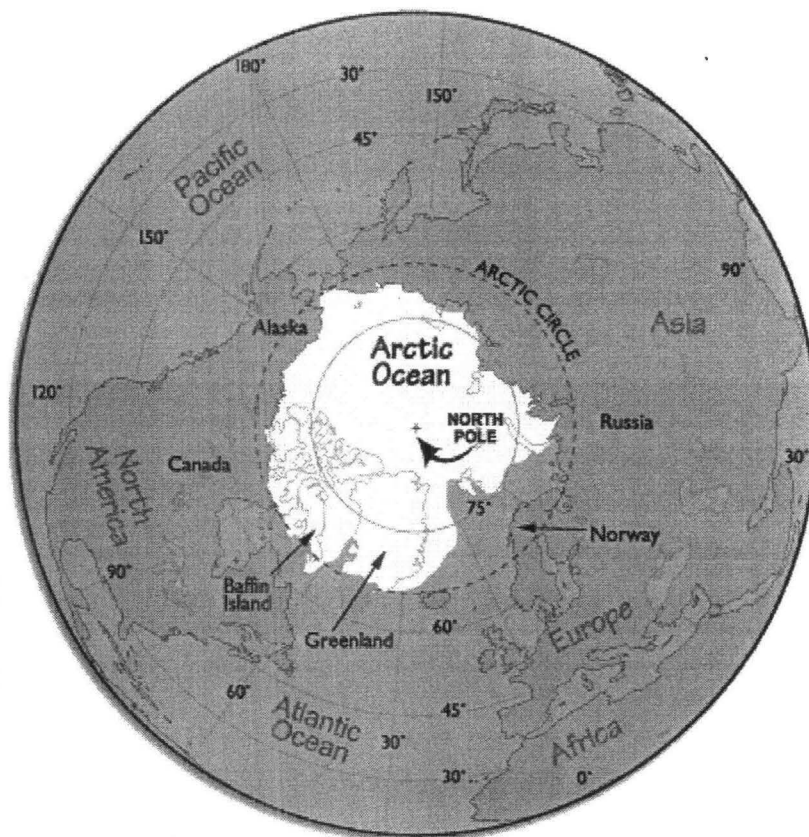
Since the age of classical Greek philosopher, the Arctic has held mysterious fascination for the western civilization which often portrayed this mythical region with fanciful images that belied reality (Shelagh. D. Grant, 2010). Many years after being predicted the “Age of Arctic is coming and coming fast”. Its arrival has been predicted for several decades .Thirty five years ago former Alaska Governor Walter Hickel wrote a prescient article in Reader’s Digest titled “The Day has come for the Arctic”. Then thirteen years later now more than two decades ago, Arctic research scholar Oran Young proclaimed in his foreign policy article “The Age of the Arctic” (Oran Young, 1985).

The Arctic is an enormous area, sprawling over one sixth of the earth’s landmass and comprising more than 30 million kilometer and twenty-four time zones. It has a population of about four million, including over thirty different indigenous peoples who speak dozens of languages. The Arctic is a region of vast natural resources and a very clean environment compared with most part of the planet earth.

The Arctic is the region around the earth’s North Pole and includes the Arctic Ocean and parts of Canada, Greenland (a territory of Denmark), Russia, the United States of America, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland. The Arctic region can be defined as the area north of the Arctic Circle. It is the region which consists of vast ice covered oceans, surrounded by treeless frozen ground. The Arctic region is by its nature is a unique area among earth’s ecosystem. The word Arctic itself has originated from a Greek word Arktos meaning bear and was used to describe the land and seas lying to the north under the constellation Ursa major , the Great Bear. Although the term Arctic is circumpolar by definition the focus here is on the polar regions of North America, Alaska, the Canadian Arctic and Greenland. Scientist still debates the appropriate criteria to define the precise

location of the Arctic. Initially the Northern Polar Regions were described as the lands and seas above the Arctic Circle ($66^{\circ}30'N$ latitude), the most southerly point where the sun neither sets in summer nor rises in the winter for at least twenty four hours. Some scientist prefer to define the Arctic as the area North of $10^{\circ}C$ July isotherm or in lay terms, north of the region that has mean July temperature of $10^{\circ}C$. A more apt definition to give would be those lands and waters lying north of the tree line the boundary between the stunted coniferous forest and the closed canopy forests to the south.

The Arctic Circle



Source: Worlatlas.com

The Arctic Earth's northern polar region is an ocean surrounded by land. Snow and ice cover much of the Arctic land and sea surfaces, particularly at the far north. The southernmost part of the Arctic, which includes the northern part of North America and Eurasia, is covered by boreal forests, separated from the icy North by a wide expanse of tundra. The Arctic refers not only to the area north of the Arctic Circle but also to

regions further south that interact with the rest of the Arctic Ecosystem. In other contexts, other criteria such as northern tree line, climatic boundaries, the area of land covered by permafrost, or the area of ocean covered by sea ice are sometimes used to define the boundaries of the Arctic.

An Overview of Canadian Arctic Region

Canada's Arctic region holds increasing strategic importance. Canadian north is the vast northernmost region of Canada which includes three territories of Canada i.e. Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut. These three Territories together comprise 40 per cent of Canada's land mass; contain two-thirds of Canada's marine coastline, hold 10 per cent of the world's fresh water, and share 14 percent of the total U.S. and Canada border. Its sparse population of about 100,000 residents plays a key role in exercising Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic by occupying and supporting nation-building in the North. While the largest part of Arctic is covered is composed of permanent ice and it encompasses geological regions of various types. The ground in the Arctic is mostly composed of permafrost (ground that is permanently frozen often to great depths) making construction difficult and often hazardous and agriculture virtually impossible. Canada owns the world's longest Coastline, six times longer than the equator. Canada's Arctic encompasses approximately 40 percent of the nation's total land mass. This broadly defined region has two-thirds of Canada's marine coastline and a sea which extends from Alaska to the Strait of Belle Isle. The entire region is very sparsely populated. As of 2006 only about 101,310 people were living in this vast area larger than the size of Western Europe.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the Arctic is its climate, fiercely cold in winter and surprising temperature in during the summer. Cold temperatures are not the only phenomena common to the North. Near the Arctic Circle, daylight hours extend from 24 hours on June 21st to none on December 21st, and the Aurora Borealis¹ of Northern

¹ Auroras, also known as northern and southern (polar) lights or aurorae (*singular*: aurora), are natural light displays in the sky, usually observed at night, particularly in the Polar Regions. They typically occur in the ionosphere. They are also referred to as polar auroras. This is a misnomer however, because they are

Lights are like a natural laser show. The Canadian Arctic as a whole is experiencing a warming trend as a result of climate change. The Arctic Zone is the habitat of many animals including polar bear, muskox, barren-ground caribou, Arctic fox, Arctic wolf, ermine, walrus and Arctic hare. Among the distinctive birds are the snowy owl, gyrfalcon and willow ptarmigan. In the Hudsonian Zone, where the temperature in July remains below 14°C (57°F), the wolverine, great grey owl and rough-legged hawk are found.

Today the Arctic region is home to almost 4 million people, a majority of which are non-indigenous settlers. They live in cities, work as hunters or animal herders in rural areas, or are involved in the exploitation of other natural resources. Indigenous people make up roughly 10 per cent of the population of the Arctic and they continue to carry out traditional activities while adapting to the modern way of life. Some have moved from a southern part of Canada and some have been living there for thousand of years. The largest group of people in the Canadian Arctic region is the Inuit. They live along the coast and hunt seal caubou and whales. The Inuit used to be known as Eskimos² which mean “eaters of raw flesh”. The term Inuit mean “the people” and the language they speak is Inuktitut.

The landform of the Canadian Arctic are a great variety ranging from the white glacier clad mountain peaks of islands in the eastern Arctic to the monotonously flat green alluvial river built lowlands of the mainland in the western Arctic. The uniqueness of the Arctic is superficial and confined mainly to the upper 10-50 feet of the ground. Most of the land area in the Canadian Arctic is underlain by permafrost³ of perennially frozen ground. (William C. Wonders 2003).

commonly visible between 65 to 72 degrees north and south latitudes, which would place it in a ring just within the Arctic and Antarctic circles. Aurorae occur deeper inside the Polar Regions, but these are infrequent occurrences, and these are often invisible to the naked eye. Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurora_\(astronomy\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurora_(astronomy))

² Eskimos are the indigenous people who have traditionally live in the Arctic region of Canada, Alaska (US), Green land and Siberia (Russia). There are different groups of Eskimos such as Inuit, Alutut, Yubik and Inupiat living in different or speaking different dialects. (<http://www.geographicguide.com/arctic.html>)

³ Permafrost, or permanently frozen ground, is soil, sediment, or rock that remains at or below 0°C for at least two years. It occurs both on land and beneath offshore Arctic continental shelves, and its thickness ranges from less than 1 meter to greater than 1,000 meters. Seasonally frozen ground is near-surface soil that freezes for more than 15 days per year (<http://nsidc.org/sotc/permafrost.html>).

The far north of the Arctic is home to an array of plants, animals and people uniquely adapted to surviving in some of the most extreme conditions on the planet. Increasingly rapid climate change poses additional challenges to life in the Arctic. Moreover, populations and ecosystems are being increasingly disturbed by other factors linked to human activities such as habitat change, growing resource use, population growth, air pollution and water pollution.

Canadian Arctic is heavily endowed with natural resources but in most cases they are too expensive to extract. The Canadian Arctic Archipelago is north of the Canadian mainland in the Arctic there are about 36,563 Islands which have much of the territory of Northern Canada most of Nunavut and part of Northwest territories .The archipelago has 94 major islands (bigger than 130 km²) including three of the world's ten biggest islands and 36,469 minor islands (<http://simple.wikipedia.org>).

Under the international law no country currently owns the North Pole or the Arctic Ocean surrounding it. The surrounding five states i.e. Russia, United States of America, Canada, Norway and Denmark are limited to a 200 nautical miles (370 km) the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) from the coastline (Robert Dufresne 2008).

The primary arrangement which governs the Arctic region is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)⁴ enacted in November 1984.The UNCLOS permits the coastal States to establish an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) extending up to 200 nautical miles zone within which they exercise sovereign rights over both the waters and the seabed (Gerd Braune 2009) .The convention has been ratified by over 150 countries with United States as the only industrialized nation which has not signed the treaty. The seabed outside the national EEZ on the other hand is controlled by

⁴ The UNCLOS is significant because it provides for a delimitation of continental shelf boundaries and establishes the EEZ extending up to 200 nautical miles in which the five Arctic region nations enjoy exclusive right to resource exploration. The EEZ can be extended under the UNCLOS if a claimant state can prove that the geological structure of the continental shelf is an extension of its continental platform. A coastal state must submit its claim to the UN commission on the limits of the Continental Shelf within a ten years period following its ratification of the convention. The deadline Canada's for submission relating to the Arctic is now approaching and it is for this reason that the race for EEZ is on.

the International Seaboard Authority (ISA), which sanctions exploring and mining. The fundamental drawback of the UN on the Law of the Sea however, is its particularly weak dispute settlement regime because it is not binding in character.

The Ottawa Declaration of 1996 formally established the Arctic Council in 1991 as a high level intergovernmental forum to provide a means for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic states. Another forum which is seen in the Arctic region is the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) for intergovernmental cooperation in the Barents Region. BEAC was established in 1993 by Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, and the European Commission to foster regional cooperation and defuse environmental threats.

Major Issues and Concerns in the Arctic Region

The Arctic Ocean sea ice is thawing. The 2008 summer sea ice coverage was the second lowest coverage ever next to 2007. A recent study shows that within 30 years Arctic ice coverage will decline from the average of 2.8 million square miles to 620,000 square miles. Another model shows the ice coverage down to 770,000 square miles in 10 years. Several studies show Arctic sea ice may be completely gone by 2070. The warming trend is faster than recent models predicted with the Arctic surface air temperature 5°C above projections.

Climate change is transforming the physical nature of the north. Arctic ice is melting at a record rate. Burgeoning natural resources development is already creating new economic and environmental realities in the region. In a very short timeframe, Canada has moved from being a non- diamond producer to being the third largest producer of diamonds in the world on the strength of its Arctic mines. Oil and gas companies are preparing for large-scale exploration projects in the waters off the Mackenzie Delta into the Beaufort Sea. The entire geo-political nature of the region is also rapidly evolving (Rob Huebert 2010).

The temperature in the Arctic has raised, on average, 3-4 °C over the past 50 years. The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA) has found that this increase represented almost twice the rate of that of the rest of the world. With higher temperatures, recent summers have had record minimum amounts of sea ice. Over the past three decades, the annual average sea ice extent has declined by 3-4 per cent per decade, and also ice thickness has been reduced by as much as 40 per cent for the thickest ice. Climate models predict that summer sea ice in the Arctic will decrease up to 80 per cent by 2100 as a result of climate change. Reduced sea ice is likely to facilitate an increase of marine traffic in the Arctic, and providing greater access to resources.

Climate change in the Arctic is letting the dispute in the Arctic region escalate at a speeding rate. As the ice melts it brings environmental crisis in the Arctic on the other hand it opens up new shipping routes which is seen as an opportunity for huge trade through the Arctic which will be short and less time consuming. So this region has its own merits and demerits. Rush towards the region is in a huge way by both circumpolar and non circumpolar states. Most of the circumpolar states are trying to extend their sovereignty rights beyond the conventional 200 nautical mile limits in the Arctic.

Issue over Arctic Sovereignty

The Arctic region has been prominently in debates about Canadian sovereignty. There has been a renewed focus of the Arctic due to the effects of climate change in the region, notably the melting of the polar ice caps (Matthew Carnaghan, Allison Goody 2006). According to Donald McRae (2007) Arctic sovereignty has become once again a matter of political importance. The term Arctic sovereignty is a touch stone in Canadian political debate. It conjures up images of Canada losing its national heritage in the north, of the United States asserting rights over what is rightfully Canadian, of the sacrifices made by Canada's indigenous people in the far north in order to secure what Canada claims as its own. In the Canadian Arctic region the issue of sovereignty over land is quite clear but the situation in respect to water is quite complex. Most of the Circumpolar Arctic nations like Russia, Norway, Canada, Denmark including United States and the European Union

and also few non Arctic nations like the Japan and China have expressed their interest in the region and have differing claims over the region in relation to international relations.

Many observers believe that the North West Passage (NWP) i.e., the shipping route through the Canadian Arctic waters will open to increased shipping activity in the coming decades as the ice melts becoming the shortest route connecting north to Far East region. Canada's assertion is that the NWP internal waters (territorial) have been challenged by many nations, especially United States. The US does not recognize Canada's sovereignty over the passage and considers it as international waters there have been incidents of foreign ships and submarines sailing through Canada's Arctic waters without the consent or even the knowledge of the Canadian Government ⁵(Natalia Loukacheva 2008).

Next big issue of sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic region is of extended continental shelves, since there is wide interest in the regions economic potentiality. This has led to increased resource exploration and disputes over the extent of the continental shelves by nations. Another issue is the boundary dispute between Canada and the United States in the Beaufort Sea, both the nation have their own claims and counter claims regarding the dispute. Lastly, the only land issue is over the Hans Island, situated between Canada's Ellesmere Island and Greenland. It is a well reported dispute between Canada and Greenland a territory of Denmark.

Issue over Arctic Security

The circumpolar north is undergoing unprecedented transformation. Changes at both national and international levels are altering the very fabric of all the northern societies. Much of these changes can be attributed to the end of Cold War (Rob Huebert, 1999). According to Rob Huebert (2006), Canada's biggest defence problem is that it does not have one. Sharing continent with the United States has meant that any military threat to Canada is threat to US as well. Ultimately United States guarantees Canada's security.

⁵ E.g. The US super tanker the SS Manhattan sailed the passage escorted by Canadian ice breaker in 1969 and in 1970; the US icebreaker polar Sea crossed the passage in 1986; in 2005 a US nuclear Submarine traveled to the North Pole possibly via the North West Passage (NWP) (Natalia Loukacheva 2008).

The issues and concerns over the Arctic security have changed from Cold war period to the post Cold War period. The nature of threat has altogether changed with time ,earlier it was the traditional threat i.e., threat coming from Soviet Union during the Cold War and Canada is located strategically between two super powers the United States and the USSR. The Arctic was considered one of the most militarized regions during the Cold War, and it acted as the main exchange points for their nuclear weapons between the US and USSR. The real physical threat to Canadian soil during this period was posed by USSR and its nuclear missiles and bomber forces. Canadian planners soon realized that to overcome such attack on Canadian soil was to deter the Soviets from attacking at first place, and this could be done only through planned focus on contribution to the common defence of North America air and aero space. It soon became evident that both United States and Canadian military planners wanted a common defence of North American airspace, this resulted in creation of the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD)⁶ on May 12th, 1958. The security landscape after the end of Cold War changed. According to Rob Huebert (2008) the Arctic is facing transformation of epic proportions at almost every level, forces contributing to this transformation is climate change, resource development and geopolitical transformation. The most recent study conducted by the United States Geological Survey now estimates that the Arctic region contains 13 per cent of the undiscovered technically recoverable world resource of oil and 30 per cent of the undiscovered technically recoverable resources of gas. In the increasing oil and gas demand and the rising price through out the world, it is clear that the Arctic region is becoming the source of world wide attention as the next treasure of resources. The only international treaty which is now in effect in the Arctic is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)⁷. Current threat which Canadian

⁶ The North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) is a bi-national United States and Canadian organization charged with the missions of aerospace warning and aerospace control for North America. Aerospace warning includes the monitoring of man-made objects in space, and the detection, validation, and warning of attack against North America whether by aircraft, missiles, or space vehicles, through mutual support arrangements with other commands. (<http://www.norad.mil/about/index.html>)

⁷ The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is the most comprehensive attempt at creating a unified regime for governance of the rights of nations with respect to the world's oceans. The treaty addresses a number of topics including navigational rights, economic rights, and pollution of the seas, conservation of marine life, scientific exploration, piracy, and more. The UNCLOS

Arctic faces is not of military threat (traditional), but of environmental by nature. There is complete change in the nature of security in the post Cold War period. Yet none of the Arctic states have abandoned its traditional security concerns since almost all the states are trying to expand there military capacity in the region even if they are not on actual war with one another. This shows that none of the states wants to stay behind in staking claims in the region all of them want to stand tall; they are doing it for their vested interest over the region.

There is no doubt that the nature of security in the circumpolar north has altered fundamentally. Militarization which was seen in the Arctic during the Cold War ended after the collapse of USSR. However the legacy of the war remains. Russia continues to face extremely serious problems regarding the radionuclide pollutants from the military and nuclear programmes of former USSR; which is a major threat to the Arctic region leading to environmental security. It was seen that the Soviet Union had dumped most of its nuclear wastes in to the Arctic Ocean which can be a real environmental hazard. From an environmental standpoint, the Arctic has become increasingly vulnerable due to climate change. The thawing of permafrost and transformation of sea ice into open water disrupts the ecosystems and increases the vulnerability of the human and animal life dependent on them. Increased illegal access and illegal activities including terrorism is another major security problem in the post Cold War era as predicted by some analyst. As it becomes accessible due to melting of ice cover and also the growing discovery of resources in the Arctic, which means that the Arctic is rapidly becoming the focus of international community. With this the world community has the motive and also looking for opportunity to enter the Canadian north.

has been ratified by 155 countries since 1994. the united States has not signed the treaty ([http://www.eoearth.org/article/United_Nations_Convention_on_Law_of_the_Sea_\(UNCLOS\),_1982](http://www.eoearth.org/article/United_Nations_Convention_on_Law_of_the_Sea_(UNCLOS),_1982))

Scope and Rationale

The study is based on the basic issues and concerns affecting the sovereignty and security in the Arctic region. As the climate change is taking place the Arctic region is opening up, and various circumpolar states and even the non circumpolar states are claiming the region which will exacerbate Canadian security and sovereignty concerns. Arctic security and sovereignty has become a matter of political importance in the present international system since it is estimated to have 25 per cent of world's undiscovered hydrocarbons and everyone is showing interest over the region. So the security and sovereignty issues are given the main focus in the study.

The security issues mainly cover the period of Cold war and also the post Cold War period. As the Cold War came to an end the nature of threat to security got altered, i.e., from traditional to non traditional type. Historical understanding of security is required to better understand the security threats in the region in the present day world. An analysis is done to understand the reason behind the change of security and threats and what possible security threats can Canada come up with. The study tries to figure out whether this is real threat or just a prediction done by various researchers and analyst. It is seen that though Arctic militarization came to a halt after the collapse of the Soviet Union but in actual terms it has not since, the region is witnesses growing militarization even after the end of Cold War. Though it may not be that vivid as it took place during the Cold War period, but it is done in a clandestine way. Since every state wants it share in the Arctic, and to get it they need to be strong enough, in result they are building their military capability in the region. The legacy or the hangover of the Cold War politics which grew during the Cold War period did not get wiped out till date; they carry the legacy of Cold War still with them and are unable to come out of it. The study tries to figure out the exact positioning of the various Arctic states and how it is affecting Canadian security at large. A detailed analysis is also done to find out the new security threat that Canada faces today.

The study tries to undertake detailed analysis of the sovereignty issue in the region of Arctic and its challenges faced. Coming to the sovereignty issues in the region of Arctic we see various circumpolar states are claiming the Arctic region due to changes in the Arctic due to climate. The region is accessible to many states including the Arctic and non Arctic states. With the gradual disappearance of the ice sheet in the Arctic and the opening of a navigable maritime route in Canada's northern territories, circumpolar states as well as other countries that formally had no interest in the region may pursue their national interests. With the all of a sudden growing interest in the region there is clash of interest among the states leading to various kinds of disputes. So the study attempts to find out the various contentious issues, claims and disputes in the region which Canada faces with rest of the Arctic nations. The disputes vary from territorial to maritime zones regarding continental shelves and Exclusive economic zones (EEZ). Issues and concerns existing in the Canadian Arctic, how does it impact on the indigenous tribes living there and what they perceive of the existing conflicts in the region is also a part of the study.

Canadian Arctic Region is the key to future Canadian prosperity using underdeveloped and undiscovered resources like hydrocarbons which is still an estimate in the Arctic region. Focus is given more on the recent times, the changing scenario of the Arctic region, its global importance, and impact of globalization and climate change. Some even foresee that the Northwest Passage will open up in the near future and which would reduce the shipping and save time and cost. Until now the Canadian north was a forgotten region for most of the Canadians and also for the government of Canada it was hardly featured in its foreign policies, but recently the focus has changed among people and also the government. Study tries to figure out various Canadian Arctic policies and the perceived challenges and steps taken by the Canadian government to stake its claims and protect its sovereignty.

The study on this vary region focuses on the changes, threats, challenges, and policies adopted and even to locate the legal status of the Northwest Passage and the legal future

of high seas areas beyond national jurisdiction. This topic requires further study because of the complexity of the Arctic geo strategic environment.

Existing Literature

The literature available on the subject is limited. Most of the literature available on topic is in the form of reports, research papers and in the form of documents conducted by various government agencies and international or regional organizations. The literature available to us basically deals with various issues like on security, sovereignty, climate change and its effect on the north and also policies adopted by government of Canada on this context. Keeping these themes and issues in mind the study surveys and analyses works of few prominent scholars like Rob Hubert, Michael Byers, Mary Simon, Donat Pharand, Franklyn Griffiths, Oran young, Donald McRae, Paul Dittman, Gerd braune and others.

The Arctic is opening up at an astonishing rate. Global warming and climate change is having dramatic impact on the Arctic environment resulting in warmer temperatures, opening up ice covered areas. The Arctic is becoming accessible to a number of different actors which is making numerous Arctic states now assert their Arctic interests and claims. Their claims vary from resource exploitation, to territorial water dispute, to boundary dispute, to right of transit in the North West Passage and other interests in the region. As these states advance their claims serious challenge emerges for Canada's security and in its Arctic sovereignty.

On issues of sovereignty

It is seen that earlier the sovereignty claims were limited to islands by the end of 1930's the focus has shifted to High Arctic region. According to Donald McRae (2007) Arctic sovereignty claims are narrowly focused, it is concerned with the waters of the Arctic Archipelago which encompasses North West Passage but there are other issues which Canada and United States still have to delimit. Its maritime boundary in Beaufort Sea and

the question of limitations of outer limits of the continental shelf. Yet North West Passage is the heart of Canadian Arctic sovereignty issue is also supported by Paul Dittman (2009) like that of Donald McRae.

The main question which is raised in this region is that who has the claim over the region. Firstly, Canada has a strong legal argument to support that the region i.e. Arctic Archipelago are the internal waters of Canada. Secondly, North West Passage (NWP) is an international strait is difficult to deny. It is an international Strait because it qualifies the geographic test. But the key question which both Paul Dittman (2009) and Donald Mc.Rae (2007) raise is that whether the region (NWP) meets the functional test. For a passage to become an international strait certain amount of navigation is needed in the region⁸. Rob Hubert (2009) also accepts that the most well known Arctic sovereignty issue is over the control of international maritime traffic in NWP. Matthew Carnaghan and Allison Goody (2006) try to explain why the dispute over the status of the NWP is so heighten at present. This is because of the climate change resulting in rising global temperature and opening up of the NWP for shipping activity. Donat Pharand (2007) examines the history of foreign transits in the region through the passage to determine its functional criteria are met or not. According to S.Jeff Birchall (2006) the voyage through the NWP is not easy and Canada should not worry much about its sovereignty issue over the passage. Whereas experts like Micheal Byers explain that there is growing importance of the region and this cannot be under estimated, since United States position over the region has changed after the 9/11 attack and United States concern tilts more towards continental security of the region. There is some kind of mix reaction among the scholars regarding the region they value the region in a different way and also see future in a different way.

The only land issue is the Hans island issue and it is between Denmark and Canada. This is the only land issue which Canada faces and it's still to be settled in the international law. Paul Dittman (2009) raises the question whether Canada has the need to assert its

⁸ In Corfu Channel Case 3000 ships navigated in one year whereas in the NWP there have been approx 100 surface transits in over 100 years.

Sovereignty over the di-isolated island. Whereas Rob Hubert asserts that if Canada loses its claim over the island it would establish a very “dangerous Precedent”. Canadian Arctic Sovereignty is challenged by various other issues like the maritime boundary disputes in the Beaufort Sea with the U.S. other than this as Donald Mc.Rae (2007) comes up another major unresolved issue is the question of continental shelves which is a matter of concern for all the Arctic states.

Michael Mifflin (2007) says threat to Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, are not military threats they are more related to socio-economic and environmental issues resulting from increasing air and maritime traffic he also adds that military presence in the region is important but in order for Canada to maintain sovereignty in the region it must ensure that its Arctic communities are prosperous and healthy.

Under the United Nations convention on the law of sea (UNCLOS) Canada ratified it in 2003 but the U.S. has not ratified it yet, to determine the extent of its continental shelf. Illegal submarine activity and illegal fishing activities is another major challenge to the Canadian Arctic Sovereignty. A broader explanation is required to know these activities will affect the Canadian Sovereignty. From strategic perspective Rob Hubert explains the concept of security has undergone a transformation in both theoretical and practical terms since the end of Cold War. Development of nuclear weapons change the nature of security from waging a war to just deterrence.

On security issues

According to Rob Huebert (2006) through out the Cold War Canadian defence policy was committed to three main elements i.e., national defence , the common defence of North America and Collective Security because the real physical threat during this time in the Canadian soil was posed by the USSR . After the Cold War ended the nature of threat which was traditional got converted to multi dimensional basically environmental security. Threat originating from elsewhere in the globe i.e. Trans boundary, for example: organic pollutants like pesticides and fertilizers.

Oli Brown, Alec Crawford and Christine Campeau (2008) also adds that the idea of traditional security have unraveled threats that no longer come from massed armies of their hostile neighbors but from terrorism, epidemic diseases, organized crime, conflict over natural resources and environmental degradation.

Environmental change may lead to large numbers of environmental refugees. As the Arctic melts there is a Gold Rush for the resources and also land grab as countries try to establish control over the territory. Paul Dittman (2009) in his explanation on climate change takes in to account not only Arctic security but also sovereignty. Because of the changes all the circumpolar nations of the Arctic is drawing together to address common issues. 25 per cent of the world's undiscovered hydrocarbons are estimated to lie in the Arctic. According to Dittman there has been a dramatic change from Cold War to Global War on Terror. It has now got a broader meaning economic security came to forefront. Unlike Franklyn Griffiths who only talks about legal and political sovereignty. Resource management and environmental protection are equally important as explained by Dittman

Also unlike Rob Hubert, Paul Dittman goes to the extent of saying that Russians as threats (traditional threat) have not disappeared all together. Though there are new kind of threats Russian Threat cannot be undermined. Since Russians from 2000 to 2006 have increased their frequency of Arctic patrol. Also the Russians retains 38 nuclear submarines in the Polar ice and they also went to the extent of planting there national flag in the Arctic continental shelves. Global warming is irrefutable as well as the environmental security. Climate change will also affect the traditions of the Indigenous People (Inuit) living in the region which ultimately lead to migration as Paul Dittman explains.

On foreign policy of the Arctic region

With the course of time there are new players which are coming to forefront. As we have already seen that climate is playing a major role in shaping international and policy

making. According to Danila Bochkarev and Roderick Kefferputz besides the Arctic five countries that encircle the North Pole i.e., US, Canada, Norway, Denmark and Greenland the European Union (EU) has signaled a clear interest in the region. Also besides the traditional players and EU Non Traditional players like Japan and China are also becoming increasingly interested in the Arctic region. All of them are trying to identify Arctic's current legal regime and institutional frame work. The primary arrangement that currently govern the region is the United Nations Convention on the law of the Sea (UNCLOS). It is very weak in dispute settlement regime. Article 298 allows each and every nation to decline to accept any method of resolution for disputes.

According to Gerd Braune in (2009) EU has inextricably linked to the Arctic region through a combination of history, geography, economy and scientific achievement. He gives the idea of further development of cooperative Arctic governance based on UNCLOS. Since there is no specific treaty regime for the Arctic. According to Don Rothwell from university of Canberra believes that the time is now in a riped position for an Arctic treaty on the Antarctic Model. Gerd Braune in (2009) gives a catastrophic consequence of melting ice in the Arctic like increase in potential for drugs, weapons, human trafficking thereby creating security risk. This is also accepted by Rob Hubert (2009)

According to Franklyn Griffiths in his book (1992) he talks about Arctic Civil Co-operation which could in itself constitute a confidence building exercise. It could contribute to regional demilitarization by spilling over in to the negotiation of military confidence building and eventually arm reduction agreement. Arctic civil co-operation is not merely a form of confidence building and a preliminary to regional military collaboration. It may alter the conduct of regional affairs.

With the turn of the century, capitalism finally had encompassed the entire Circumpolar North due to Globalization. Lassi Heininen tries to investigate the character of current international relation and geo politics of the Circumpolar North which is the relation between the Arctic and the outside world. According to Lassi Heininen during the Cold

War the focus was upon the East West divide, which demarcated bi-polar world but now a new North South dimension to global order has emerged that defines the relationship of the circumpolar North to the rest of the world. Within Arctic countries, special policies towards the north have been developed that are known as Northern Dimensions (e.g. Canada and the EU).

According to Oran R. Young and Arkady Cherkasov (1992) opportunities for new forms of international co-operation in this region have grown steadily in recent years as levels of human activity in the region in the Arctic have risen. There are also obstacles impeding the realization of such international co-operation. He comes up with various strategy designed to overcome these obstacles. According to Mary Simon on the account of militarization and its impact on indigenous peoples, she asserts that if the future of Arctic homeland is to be safeguarded government should have a direct input in to policy making. Meaningful Inuit participation can make a vital contribution and it should not be ignored. Lassi Heininen says that the real challenge in the region remains to develop a system of government that fits these many pieces together in such a way as to promote effective governance. Some kind of regional cooperation is seen like the formation of Arctic council and Arctic environment protection Strategy (AEPS)

The nature of the study would be descriptive as well as analytical using qualitative methods. Interviews and empirical facts are available on the subject in the form of reports and researches undertaken by various councils, international organizations are used in the study. Secondary sources used include various books and articles written over the subject matter. There are many official websites launched by Canadian government related to the Arctic region, Foreign Affairs and International Trade and Northern Dimension of Foreign Policy (NDFP), which contains relevant information that is used as secondary source. These sources are used extensively to verify, compare and substantiate the main hypotheses of the study. The secondary source material is available in both English and also in French language which is used to build a good and broad understanding for the study.

After giving a brief introduction on the given topic, next the study moves forward with the main sovereignty and security issues of the Arctic region explained in two chapters. Within these chapters the issues and concerns of the Arctic region is discussed in details. The next chapter tries to highlight the policies adopted by Canada and various organisations formed in the Arctic region and lastly, it is the concluding chapter.

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Source: http://nsidc.org/arcticmet/images/arctic_map_small.gif



Chapter: 2

Canadian Arctic Sovereignty Issues

CHAPTER 2

CANADIAN ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY ISSUES

The Arctic region has recently featured prominently in debates about Canadian sovereignty. There has been a renewed focus on the Arctic due to the effects of climate change in the region notably to the melting of the Polar Ice caps. Canada has a long tradition of asserting sovereignty and jurisdiction in relation to both territorial and maritime realms of the Arctic. Due to climate change in the region and melting of ice caps the region becomes more accessible and offers lot of opportunities for the Arctic nations. As an Arctic state Canada is not immune from the impact of the transformation taking place in the high Arctic as its increasing accessibility encourages both exploitation and development of this important region. Numerous Arctic states show their Arctic interests in the region. Arctic nations including Canada, United States, Russia, Iceland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway all seek their various Arctic claims. Recently non Arctic states like China, Japan, South Korea and European Union have become very active in the region showing interests in resource exploitation, development and right to transit in the North West Passage. As various Arctic and Non-Arctic nations advance their claims in the region Canadian sovereignty faces a serious challenge.

According to S.Jeff Birchall (2006) the Canadian Arctic as a whole is experiencing a warming trend as a result of climate change. The political interest of this trend lies in what Canada could lose if the ice of the archipelago disappears. Canada has met some opposition to its historical claim over the land, water, and ice of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, particularly over the Northwest Passage and mostly from the United States. The debate surrounding Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic is not new, but as a result of climate change and the consequent warming of the Canadian Arctic, it has gained new vigor. This debate typically centres on three primary components: melting Canadian Arctic ice increased international shipping via the Northwest Passage as ice cover

decreases, and the threat to Canadian sovereignty implied by increased international shipping.

According to Donald Mc.Rae (2007) the term Arctic sovereignty is a touch stone in Canadian political debate. It conjures images of Canada losing its national heritage in the North of the United States asserting rights over what is rightfully Canadian of the sacrifices made by Canada's indigenous people in the far north in order to secure what Canada claims as its own.

Canada has long tradition of asserting sovereignty and jurisdiction in relation to both the territory and maritime realms of the Arctic. Canada's claims and use of the Arctic are connected to opportunities offered and threats encountered including the following:

- Strategic defence issues related to potential incursions in to the Canadian Arctic ,
- Protection of the environment and the ecosystem,
- Preservation of the way of life of the aboriginals including the Inuit,
- The good governance of local communities
- Exploitation and management of Arctic's economic potential including both its renewable and non renewable resources.

Canada's Arctic sovereignty issues is mainly seen over Arctic waters (maritime) and Arctic territory .While Canada's Arctic claims are by in large well accepted and few remains very controversial. It can be observed that Canadian maritime claims are more disputed then land claims. Basically there are three issues. First, in respect of territorial sovereignty, Hans Island is in controversy with Canada and Denmark both claiming for it, the only land issue for Canada. The other two controversies deal with maritime rights. Canada's claims that the North West Passage represents internal waters has been challenged by other countries like the United States, which argues the water to be international waters (Robert Dufresne 2007).

Defining Sovereignty

The word “sovereignty” can mean different things to different people. It has four dimensions political, social, economic and legal dimensions. Sovereignty is at times synonymous to independence. A sovereign state is an independent state, one that is not subject to the authority of any other state. According to law all sovereign states are sovereign and independent; the degree of actual independence might vary whether one is looking at the matter from political or economic perspective (Donald Mc.Rae 2007).

According to Matthew Carnaghan, Allison Goody (2006) the concept of state sovereignty is embedded in the international law and is one of its central pillars. Traditionally sovereignty reflects state’s right of control, territorial integrity and non-interference by outside states.

Sovereignty is a term that has often been used to refer to the absolute and independent authority of a community or nation both internally and externally. Sovereignty is a contested concept, however, and does not have a fixed meaning. Old ideas of sovereignty are breaking down as different governance models, such as the European Union, evolve. Sovereignities overlap and are frequently divided within federations in creative ways to recognise the right of peoples. For Inuit living within the states of Russia, Canada, the USA and Denmark/Greenland, issues of sovereignty and sovereign rights must be examined and assessed in the context of our long history of struggle to gain recognition and respect as an Arctic indigenous people having the right to exercise self-determination over our lives, territories, cultures and languages. (Patricia A.L. Cochran 2009).

Almost everyone has different definitions and explanations to give when they talk about sovereignty. With the passage of time the threat perception regarding the Arctic sovereignty has also changed. During the Cold War it was mainly military threat affecting the Canadians Arctic sovereignty whereas at present factors which affect the Canadian Arctic sovereignty is basically socio-economic and environmental by nature.

Threats to Canadian Arctic sovereignty in the Arctic says, Michael Mifflin (2007) are not military threats they are related to socioeconomic and environmental issues from increasing air and maritime traffic. Michael Mifflin asserted that sovereignty not only means having the ability to control and regulate access to Arctic waters but also to promote and protect the health, the environment and the development of Canada's Arctic citizens. According to him peaceful cooperation with other Arctic countries, Russia in particular, will also strengthen Canada's claim on the international stage.

Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and its Historical Claims

Canada's Arctic sovereignty has long history which is well established and based on historic title. Canadian sovereignty has evolved with time; there was no revolution to create a fully sovereign nation. Canada's claim over the islands in the Arctic Archipelago began in 1880, when the British transferred the islands to Canada. The 1825 Treaty between Russia and Britain and the 1867 Treaty between Russia and United States (US) established the boundaries of the territories (Major Bowerman 2001). Within the Act of 1867 the British Empire created Canada as a semi autonomous dominion under it. The Canadian government had responsibility for affairs with Canada but depended on Great Britain for defence and foreign affairs matters. By 1931 the British parliament passed the statute of Westminster which gave Canada control of its own affairs. Canada did not receive full political sovereignty until 17 April 1982 when the Queen of England promulgated the Constitution Act of 1982. Now Canada is completely independent of Britain. Meanwhile, as Canada's relationship with Britain has shrunk, with the United States it has grown (Nathaniel French Caldwell, Jr 1990).

The establishment of Canada's territorial sovereignty in the Arctic was first raised by Senator Pascal Poirier by his speech in the Canadian Senate on 20 February 1907. The Senator proposed the resolution before the Senate making a formal declaration of

possession of the lands and islands in the North Pole, bounded by Sector Theory.⁹ The sector line is 141° meridian of west longitude to the west and the 60° meridian of the west longitude to the east which would form an apex at the North Pole. All this time the Government of Canada had been trying to establish claims for more than a decade, there were no settlements or outposts and Canada did not have effective possession of the islands of the Arctic Archipelago.

It was seen that from time to time Canadian government sponsored periodic voyages in the Eastern Arctic in order to establish a presence there in support of its claims. A series of Arctic portals begun, in 1897 as captain W. Wakeham raised a flag on Kekerton Island¹⁰, claiming Baffin Island for the dominion. Again in 1904 A.P. Low sailed up to the Cape Herchel on The Ellesmemre Island which he mapped and claimed for Canada. Later Captain Joseph Bernier carried out numerous voyages between 1904 to 1925. In his first official expedition he left records and cairns (human-made pile of stones) on the islands he has visited as evidence of Canadian annexation, but no manned outposts were established. Bernier's second and third patrols of the Canadian Arctic between 1910-1911, included tasks of issuing fishery licenses and enforcing whaling regulations. These activities were the first Canadian attempt at exercising jurisdiction over waters in the Arctic. In his second voyage Captain J. E. Bernier placed a plaque (a flat ornamental plate) on Merville Island and declaring possession of the Arctic Archipelago from 60° W to 141° W up to 90° N for Canada. This particular claim went beyond the assigned goals of Bernier's patrol. A report from his third voyage clearly indicates that his mission to establish Canadian authority in the northern waters.

Gustav Smedal a noted Norwegian legal expert on Arctic sovereignty and critic of the sector theory asserted that a state's authority was limited to the area over which it exercised control and specifically that the control of one island in an archipelago did not

⁹ The sector principle traces longitudinal parallels from borders of countries adjacent to the Arctic Circle to the North Pole, assigning the sectors so formed to the neighboring nations. Claims resting solely on the sector principle have been denied legal force by many nations, including the United States. Whereas Russians have used the principle to stake its claim in the Arctic. No clause is seen in the UNCLOS.

¹⁰ Kekerton Island is an uninhabited island in the Qikiqtaaluk Region of Nunavut, Canada.

imply control of one island in an archipelago did not imply control of the whole group of islands. The state's control had to be efficient meaning that the state had to be able to project its authority without being limited by the polar climate or other physical conditions of the territory (Nathaniel French Caldwell, Jr. 1990).

In the western Arctic region from 1913 to 1918 Vilhjalmur Stefansson discovered the last of the Arctic islands and claimed them for Canada. But these symbolic acts of raising flags and erecting plaques carried a little interest in the international law since they are not accompanied by effective occupation or administration (W.R Morrison)

It was seen that Canada was unable to take effective authority in the Arctic Archipelago and it became the subject of investigation by the Canadian Reindeer and Musk Ox Commission in 1919. The commission recommended that the government to establish its authority in the region of Arctic. The government also encouraged to take action towards the various conflicting claims from United States, Norway, and especially Denmark with its portion of Ellesmere Island (Nathaniel French Caldwell, Jr., 1990). Later Canadian government developed a plan by which it took possession of the Arctic Archipelago in the 1920's. J.D. Craig the leader of the first expedition to set up permanently manned Royal Canadian Mounted police (RCMP) ¹¹posts in the Arctic Archipelago in 1922, the plan outlined the following:

The establishment of police posts, custom houses and post offices at various points through out the North, the intention being to establish additional similar posts from year to year until there is assurance that the Canadian laws and regulations will be well administered in the regions controlled by these outposts of civilizations (Nathaniel French Caldwell, Jr. 1990). Since than RCMP were stationed in northern settlements to provide Canadian authority in the region and to support Canada's territorial claim.

¹¹ The national police force of Canada and one of the most recognized of its kind in the world. It is unique in the world as a national, federal, provincial and municipal policing body.

In 1924, Canada used the sector theory to claim sovereignty of this area; however, it is extremely important to note that the sector theory has no validity as a source of title or State jurisdiction in the Arctic. Canada's western Arctic neighbour, the United States, and its eastern Arctic neighbour, Denmark, do not accept the sector theory as a method of claiming sovereign territory. Canada's future claim over the terrestrial areas in the Arctic was assisted in 1933 by an International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling, which concerned sovereignty of territory in remote and uninhabited areas. This ruling stated that a country does not have to occupy all the territory to claim sovereignty.

As the time passed by issues regarding sovereignty got more complex which is not easy to resolve it in one instance. Today Canada has terrestrial dispute with Denmark, United States, EC and Russia. There are few unsettled Canadian Arctic territorial claim pertaining to maritime disputes. In the Beaufort Sea lies the western maritime border of the Canadian Arctic, which is based on an 1825 boundary treaty between Russia. Out of these the most significant maritime dispute centres on the legal status of the Northwest Passage. Canada claims the Northwest Passage as Canadian historic internal waters, but the US and European Community (EC) claims the passage is an international strait. Interestingly, any nation could challenge Canada's sovereignty claim over the passage because there has not been a legal ruling by the ICJ.

Recently, On 1 April 1999, a new territory was carved out called Nunavut. It was the result of a land claim settlement and a right to self-government for the Inuit creates a historical claim of sovereignty to the islands of the archipelago. Thus, in a future ICJ sovereignty case, the strength of Canada's claim over the terrestrial area in the Arctic is significantly enhanced with the creation of this territory.

Transforming Canadian Arctic

The occurrence of military activity in the North by the Soviet Union that threatened the North America and the Canadian sovereignty has significantly decreased since the end of Cold war. The immortal issue of Northern sovereignty has come to the forefront once

again and it's in news almost everyday. According to K.S Coates, P.W Lackarbauer, W.R Morrison and G. Poelzer (2008), so far the conflict has been mild consisting of little more than a flag planting contest with Denmark over Hans Island and Russians too claiming by placing flag deep under the seabed.

The north is transforming and it is becoming more accessible region in the world .Arrival of Southern Canadians are seen in the North and are trying to reap as much as they can. At the same time this accessibility will also enable outside actors to arrive on the scene and increasingly affect the Arctic region. According to Rob Huebert (2009) the ongoing transformation of the north makes a moving target of the effort to come to terms with this issue of protection and control in the Canadian Arctic. At this time, it is simply unknown as to who will come to the Arctic and what they will do there. It has become apparent that the Arctic is becoming an area of interest for non Arctic nations like the Japan, China and South Korea. Korean shipyards are increasingly building ice capable vessels, Japan is also investing heavily on Arctic gas hydrates and China is investing on polar research. These non Arctic states also want observer status in the Arctic Council. The Arctic is transforming at an increasing rate. Mainly three extremely unique and powerful forces are leading to these changes: climate change, resource development and geo-political transformation. We can well imagine the rate of change or the magnitude of change that is taking lace in the Canadian Arctic when all the forces are at work.

Climate Change

Climate change and its effect may be the most serious issue. Due to climate change the Arctic is getting warmer. The rate of change has garbed lot of attention of the Arctic states, leaders, public and world at large. The most important impact on the region is the melting of the sea ice which means Canadian Arctic waters will open up and it will be accessible. According to Rob Huebert (2009) this accessibility has led most observers to predict the entry of an increasing array of interests into the region. The Canadian government's ability to control what happens in its Arctic region will be tested with this entry of newcomers into the Canadian Arctic who will seek to exploit and benefit from a

more accessible Arctic. Thus the melting sea ice will be at the root of the challenges to Canadian Arctic sovereignty.

Climate change will cause major physical, ecological, social, cultural, economic and geopolitical adjustment leading to new interest in the region. There will wide scale access to natural resources in the Arctic especially hydrocarbons and minerals. Further more the melting of large parts of ice caps could open up ice free sea lanes during summer time e.g. North West Passage (NWP). Most of these perspectives have triggered new geopolitical interest in the region. The extreme climate and extensive ice cover prevented the outside world from entering the Canadian Arctic. This is now changing as the Arctic is melting. With a diminishing ice cover, the Arctic is becoming more accessible which in turn, will make it easier for the world to come.

Resource Development

The Arctic is slowly and surely turning into a zone of natural resources exploration. The global warming process is making the exploration of the Arctic region particularly its energy resources a bit easier. Many are eyeing Canada's Arctic regions for its abundant resources and development potential. Rob Huebert (2009) argues that though the Arctic is melting, it will remain a unique a dangerous place to operate. The Arctic is estimated to contain approximately 25 per cent of the world's remaining undiscovered oil and gas deposits. A study by the US Geological Survey is the most commonly cited study and it suggests that 13 per cent of oil and 30 per cent of natural gas remains in the Arctic. If correct, the Arctic is the world's last major source of oil and gas.

The potential riches of the Arctic continue to be more than and beyond oil and gas. Another source of energy which is known as Gas Hydrates is found in the Arctic waters, which is in very deep ocean waters. Scientists have discovered a jelly like substance that is actually a source of gas which gets solidified with the cold environment. At present with the Government of Canada no economical means or technology is available in recovering these resources, bringing it to the earth's surface and exploit. Arctic has

become treasure trove of resources as pointed out by Rob Huebert. The estimate of resources present in the Arctic is made by the experts of various states, and to see whether the estimate is valid or not, determination of resources should be done through actual drilling. But North American oil and gas companies have already accepted the potential of these resources.

In 2007, Exxon and several partners made a successful bid of over \$585 million for a five year exploration program in the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea. Several land-based projects are also now underway. One of the largest deposits of iron ore has been discovered in Mary River on Baffin Island; plans are now in place to develop this site. On the other side of the Yukon-Alaska border, since 2007 Shell has attempted to begin a \$44 million exploration process. However, this process has been held up by a court challenge brought about by a coalition of community and environmental groups. Non-Arctic states have entered into the region and assumed leadership roles in advancing new technologies for use in the Arctic. The best known example is the construction of ice-capable commercial vessels. Historically, Finnish and Russian companies were the leaders in ship design and construction of ice-capable vessels. However, they are now increasingly challenged by South Korean companies that have invested heavily in building ice-capable vessels. Samsung Heavy Industry is building numerous medium-sized oil tankers weighing between 70,000- 120,000 tons, which are purchased for use in the northern waters of Russia. The South Koreans are putting a propeller on ice-strengthened hulls that can rotate 360 degrees.¹²

As the Cold War ended, both the Mulroney government and the Chrétien government saw an opportunity to improve circumpolar relations. Canada joined forces with Finland

¹² This rotation allows Samsung to place a regular bow on the front of the vessel and an ice-breaking bow on the stern (back) of the vessel. In open-water conditions these vessels operate as a normal tanker would. But when they are in ice-covered waters, they turn their propeller around and go “backwards.” This configuration of the propeller enables the ship to break the ice as it moves forward. Normally ships that are designed to operate in ice possess characteristics that make operating in ice-free waters problematic.

to create the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS), which was an agreement to examine the emerging circumpolar environmental problems discovered by scientists. The current Harper government is improving Canada's northern surveillance by increasing its expenditures on research. Northern Watch is a research program dedicated to developing a Canadian-built and designed system that will provide surveillance of the subsurface, surface and airspace of the Arctic. Canadian scientists have also developed a more advanced program of satellite imagery systems designed to provide space-based surveillance of surface vessels in the Arctic. The first satellite, RadarSat I, had been designed primarily as an ice-detection observation system. Both the Martin and the Harper governments increased the size and the training of the Rangers¹³ units based in the north. The Rangers are a northern militia unit whose primary task is to provide surveillance in the north at the local level. More foreign nationals will come to the Canadian north to explore and develop Arctic marine resources. Canada will need to ensure that they know Canadian rules and laws and will follow them. In order for that to happen, the Canadian government must have the ability to control the activity of these foreign nationals (Rob Huebert 2009).

Geo political Transformation

The Arctic region has long been considered international territory. Five countries Canada, Denmark (via Greenland), Norway, Russia, and the United States share a border with the frozen Arctic Ocean. Some of these nations have claimed parts of the region to be their territory. They are all interested in the potential riches of oil, gas and other resources, as well as the opening up of lucrative passages for trade and economic activity as we saw above. According to Natalie Mychajlyszyn, (2008) the nature of the Arctic geo political dynamic is changeable, depending on various factors. For example, the size of the state politically or geographically, does not bear proportionately on those dynamics: both small and large states have succeeded in asserting their interests.

¹³ The Rangers are volunteers comprised primarily of indigenous peoples, and are particularly skilled observers who can live off the land.

Unlike the other lands and continents the Arctic has not been the focus of brutal territorial conquest and competition. During the cold war the period was defined by intense distrust between the United States and its allies in the West and Soviet Union. Unlike other parts of the world which has served as proxies in the cold war struggle the Arctic played an auxiliary role as a region that acted as the shortest route through which increasingly advanced technologies might be trained on an adversary. It served as base of early warning. Arctic was not treated or considered as prize but was valued for its strategic capability. The end of Cold War mixed impact on Arctic's ranking among the geo – political issues of the circumpolar states. Arctic at this point of time witnessed a diminishing level of importance in North American defence. Arctic geopolitics has been affected by new issues. Some arising from changing climatic conditions which raised the profile of the Arctic in international arena. The most fundamental geo political issue concerning the Arctic states has been of Sovereignty. Especially the interests, policies and actions that affirm the states borders, EEZ, and legal principles

New international laws allow the Arctic nations to extend their control over the Arctic seabed. This extension is occurring under the terms of UNCLOS¹⁴. This Convention is one of the most comprehensive and complex international agreements that has received almost universal agreement. Non-Arctic states have also begun to show interest in Arctic operations. The net effect of these factors is a growing international recognition of the importance of the Arctic region.

¹⁴ Currently 157 states have either ratified or acceded to the treaty. The negotiations began in 1973 and concluded in 1982. It required 60 ratifications before it came into force, which occurred in 1996. It also introduced new means of Ocean governance. Has created different zones of control. Specifically the Convention gives coastal states control of resources up to a distance of 200 nautical miles in an area called the EEZ.

Most Contentious Issues in the Arctic

Canada asserts several claims over the Arctic lands and waters. Canada's position as a whole in the Arctic is not contested. The absence of opposition in most elements of its assertion and exercise of rights and jurisdiction suggest that its claims by and large are recognized by other states. But still there are exceptions, there are few major issues related to waters, i.e., the extent to which Canada can fully claim the North West Passage and the question of where to draw the line that separates the American and Canadian zones in the Beaufort sea. Arctic states also claims to an extended continental shelves which may generate future controversies. The land issue in the region with Canada is the Hans Island issue. We will see all the issues in details below:

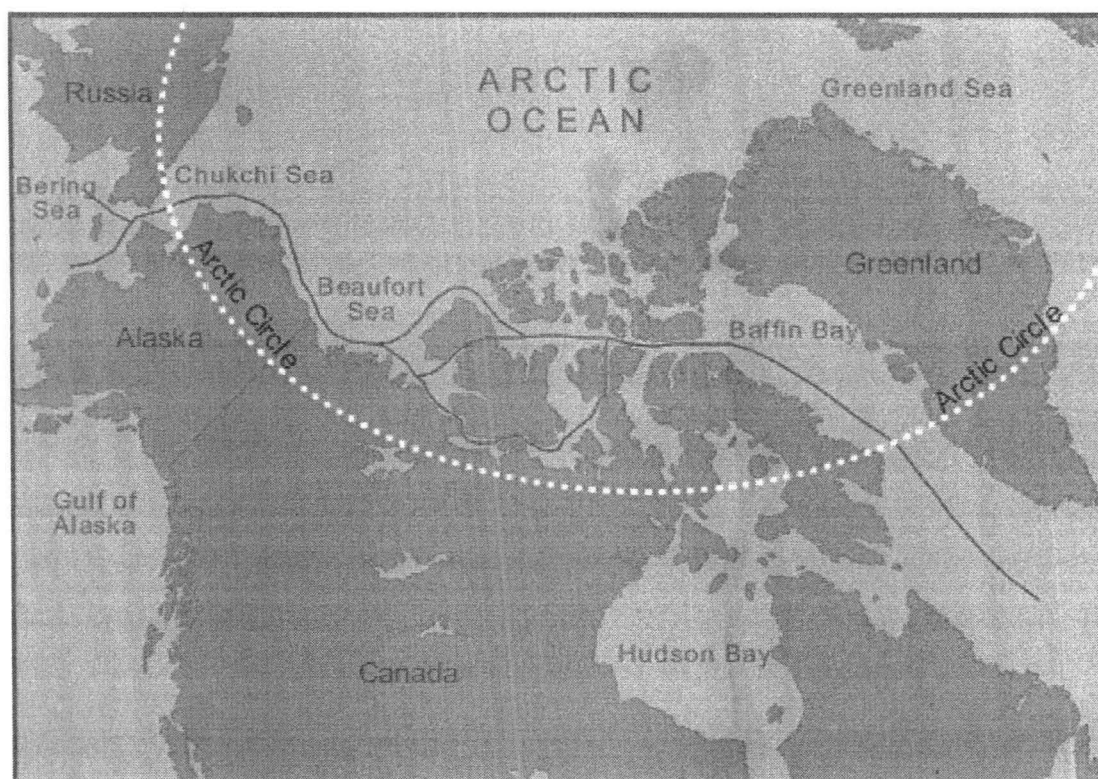
The North West Passage

The North West passage (NWP) is the region or a body of water existing between the Davis Strait and Baffin Bay in the east and the Bering Strait in the west. Considerably there are five basic routes through this passage, consisting of essentially two accessible routes. The NWP represents a potentially attractive and valuable commercial shipping route. The NWP in a sense is a moving target. The region is covered with ice throughout the year, it has been predicted that the region might open up for navigation for weeks in a year. This region has been one of the major irritants in Canada-US relations since 1969. The sovereignty issue in the context of the North West Passage is about control of international shipping in the region.

As the climate change and the global temperature rise, its effects will hamper the fragile ecosystem of the Arctic. It will contribute to the melting of the ice caps which will also open up the NWP as speculated and there will be increase shipping activity in the region. There are almost varying estimates of the rate at which the Arctic ice is melting. The passage would reduce the distance between Europe and the Far East to about 7900 nautical miles from 12,600 nautical miles when using the Panama Canal. A 2004 study by the Arctic Council and International Arctic Science Committee assessed that sea ice in

summer months has declined by 15-20 per cent over the past thirty years. A report prepared for United States Navy in 2001 predicted that as a consequence, within five to ten years, the North West Passage will open to non ice strengthened vessels for at least one month each summer. Another report issued by the Institute of the North, the U.S. arctic Research Commission and the International Arctic Science committee estimated that Canadian Arctic will experience entire summer seasons of nearly ice free condition as early as 2050, but probably not before 2100 (Matthew Carnaghan and Alison Goody 2006).

The North West Passage



Source: Geology.com/MapResources (Red lines are possible routes for traversing the Northwest Passage)

The impact of the climate change has heightened the dispute between Canada and United States over the NWP. Canada has historically claimed the constituent lands and

waters of the NWP as its sovereign territory, whereas the United States has consistently referred to the NWP as an international strait with which they claim an unfettered right of passage of the freedom of the seas (Christopher Mark Macneill 2007). The most direct challenge to Canada's sovereignty in Arctic waters came in 1985, when the U.S. sent its icebreaker Polar Sea through the Northwest Passage without informing Canada or asking permission. The political skirmish that followed led to the 1988 Arctic Co-operation Agreement between the two countries. Boiled down to its essence, the agreement said the U.S. would not send any more icebreakers through the passage without Canada's consent. Canada considers that it is sovereign over the waters of the NWP on the ground that those waters are internal waters. It is supported by two main legal bases : first, the water are internal by virtue of its "Historic Title" , second, virtue of being on the land ward side of baseline drawn around the entire Arctic Archipelago in 1985. By contrast, other states claim that the waters of the NWP are not internal waters and the states enjoy navigation rights there by virtue of the law of the sea. There are two possibilities in this regard. First, states could enjoy the right to passage, which would result from the preservation of a right in existence prior to the enclosing of the passage through the straight baselines. Second, states would enjoy the right to transit if the passage qualifies as an international strait.

I. Internal Water's through Historic title

Canada's claims that the Arctic waters of the NWP constitute internal waters under historic title and thus fall under full Canadian sovereignty. In 2002, officers of the department of Foreign Affairs an International Trade continued to use this argument: Canada's full sovereignty over these waters, including the North West passage, is based on the Historic title and no right to passage is therefore recognized. Canada's sovereignty position is the ongoing use and occupation of the covering ice by its Inuit people from time immemorial (Robert Dufresne 2008).

This claim has been disputed especially by U.S and the European Union. The U.S has consistently argued that the waters of NWP represent an international Strait (international waters), which allows the right to transit (beyond innocent passage¹⁵).

According to Donat Pharand the claim based on historic title is weak argument; Phrand considers the claim based on straight baseline¹⁶ around the Arctic Archipelago to be Canada's best case contending that it is strong enough in the international law. After reviewing whether Canada succeeds in its claim of historic title, Pharand concludes that "Canada is not in a position to discharge the heavy burden of proof that it has exercised exclusive jurisdiction over the Arctic waters for a sufficiently long period of time and with the acquaintances of foreign states, particularly those primarily affected by its claim"(Pharand 2007).

II. Internal Waters through Straight Baselines:

In addition to historical claims Canada also claims that the waters of the NWP are internal as waters on the landward side of the straight baselines. Like the previous argument of historical title, this argument is not specific to the passage itself, but has seen articulated in connection to related challenges to Canadian sovereignty. With The controversial transit of the U.S Coast Guard icebreaker CGS Polar Sea in 1985, the Ministry for External affairs announced two measures: first was the adoption of an order in council establishing straight baselines around the Arctic archipelago taking effect on 1st January 1986; second was the enactment of the Canadian law Offshore Application Act, extending the application of federal and provincial law to offshore areas along the coast. The Canadian Laws Offshore Application Act has since been repealed and

¹⁵ The United States Department of Defence defines innocent passage as: The right of all ships to engage in continuous and expeditious surface passage through the territorial sea and archipelagic waters of foreign coastal states in a manner not prejudicial to its peace, good order, or security. Passage includes stopping and anchoring, but only if incidental to ordinary navigation or necessary by force or distress, or for the purpose of rendering assistance to persons, ships, or aircraft in danger or distress.

¹⁶ The straight baseline method allows a country with offshore islands and/or very jagged coastlines to calculate its territorial seas from straight lines drawn from a point on the coast to the islands, or from island to island. One then "connects the dots" literally and the water behind the lines is designated internal waters, while waters away from the line and toward open waters are considered territorial seas.

replaced by the ocean Act. Just after the voyage it stirred public debate and Canada's sovereign control over the Arctic water was highlighted.

United States claim that the passage is international strait, for a strait to be international few requirements are needed. The requirements are both "geographic" and "functional". According to geographic requirement the strait must connect two bodies of the high seas; in this case the Atlantic Ocean and Pacific Ocean are on both the side. And for the functional requirement the strait must also satisfy the criterion of being useful route of navigation and must have experienced sufficient amount of transit. In the case of NWP as there has been not sufficient number of transit to qualify it as a useful route. On this basis Canada's claim or status on the passage can be challenged by its opposition parties.

Donat Pharand examines the history of foreign transits in the region through the passage to determine its functional criteria are met. He noted that only two, potentially three, transits by naval ships, all US submarines and at least two of the visits were undertaken under common defence arrangements (Robert Durfrense 2008). He concludes by saying it is evident that the North West Passage does not have a history as useful route for international maritime traffic. With all these it is surely not sufficient to turn the Passage to an international strait subject to the right of transit passage.

According to S.Jeff Birchall the voyage through the NWP is not easy and Canada should not worry much about its sovereignty issue over the passage. Canadian sovereignty over the waters of the Arctic Archipelago, and specifically the Northwest Passage, is not under threat as a result of increased international commercial shipping at this time, nor will it be in the near future. Canada need not fear an immediate sovereignty challenge over its archipelagic waters. Moreover, given the current security climate, it will not be in the interest of the United States, historically Canada's primary rival in the Arctic, to engage Canada in a sovereignty battle. Good Arctic relations with the United States are also important for Canada. Sovereignty, after all, is only as strong as the recognition expressed by other states (S. Jeff Birchall 2006).

Whereas , experts like Micheal Byers explain that there can be some amount of change in the position of the United States after the 9/11 attack, US concern tilt more towards continental security of the region. Today Washington is more concerned about terrorist sneaking in to North America using the oceans to transport weapons of mass destruction. Canada might perhaps manage the relation with US over the passage by controlling the passage as a way of securing the North American perimeter (Guillaume Lavallee 2007). The dispute between Canada and US on the status of the passage is ongoing.

Issue of Beaufort Sea

The second dispute involving the Arctic waters relates to the offshore boundary between Canada and United States in the Beaufort Sea. The Beaufort Sea is a large body of water north of the Northwest Territories, the Yukon and Alaska and west of Canada's Arctic island's and is a part of Arctic Ocean. There is an ongoing dispute between Canada and United States over the delimitation of the maritime boundary in the Bueaufort. This dispute pertains to the drawing of a boundary line between neighbors and it's totally bilateral by nature.

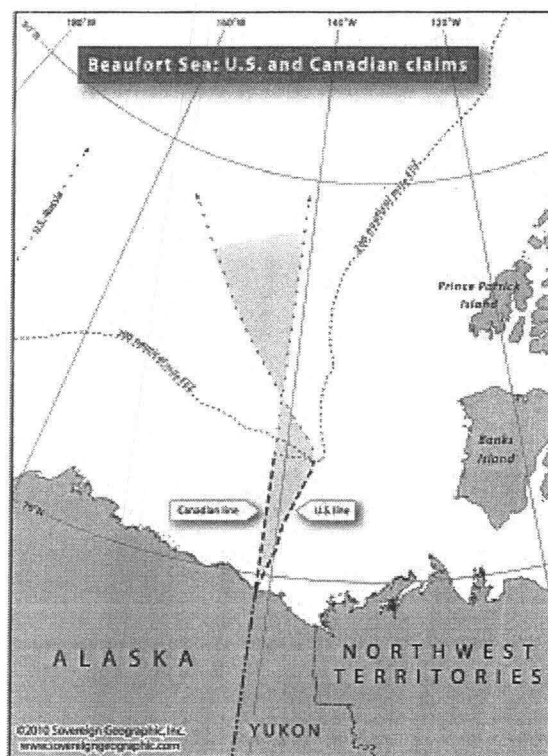
According to Canadian claims the boundary runs along the 141 meridian, a position which United States rejects. Canada relies on the 1825 treaty between Russia a Great Britain that established the boundary between what is now Alaska and the Yukon along the 141meridian. The treaty provides that the boundary extends as far as the frozen Ocean. This argument is said to be supported by two principles: first, the "historic claim" based upon the treaties themselves and second, the sector theory of Arctic delimitation.

United States on the other hand argues that the boundary must be determined by using equidistance principle. US maintain that the 1825 boundary treaty was only intended to govern the land boundary, and it cannot be interpreted to extend past the water's edge. The US relies on the equidistance principle¹⁷ to establish legitimate maritime and continental shelf delimitation. They consider the method to be a fairly classic and

¹⁷ Drawing a median line every point of which is equally distant from the nearest points on the baseline.

nowadays widely accepted mode of maritime delimitation that traces a line at equal distance to the closest land point of each state. Another method that the United States has argued for is the use of perpendicular line to the coast, at the point where the land boundary meets the sea. Both Canada and United States are pushing for the use of delimitation method that will best serve their interests and that will produce, from their perspective, the largest maritime zones. The dispute between both the nations is still ongoing.

The Beaufort Sea Claims



Source: arctic-healy-baker-2008.blogspot.com/2010/03/

Hans Islands Issue

Hans Island is situated in the Nares Strait¹⁸, a waterway that runs between Ellesmere Island (the northernmost part of Nunavut, Canada) and Greenland a territory of Denmark.

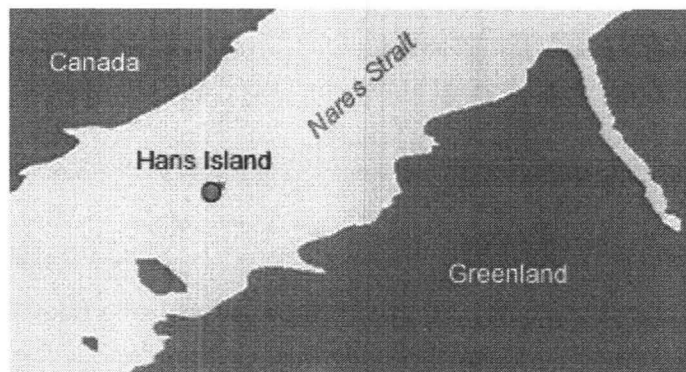
¹⁸ Nares Strait is a waterway lying between Ellesmere Island (the most northerly part of Nunavut, Canada) and Greenland. It links Baffin Bay with the Lincoln Sea in the Arctic Ocean.

Hans Island is the subject of a well-reported dispute over Canada's land territory in the Arctic. Both Canada and Denmark claim Hans Island as sovereign territory. The competing claims have never been finally settled in international law. He Island is uninhabited and is only 1.3 square kilometers.

Canadian claim dates back to the handover of British territory to Canada in 1867 of which Hans Island is a part. Whereas the Danes claim it because it is closer to Greenland than to Canada. Danes still has their hold over the Greenland, which dates back to colonial days. The dispute started in 1973 when Denmark and Canada drew a border down the Nares Strait, between Canada's Ellesmere Island and Greenland, a semi-autonomous Danish territory.

Danish flags were planted on Hans Island in 1984, 1988, 1995 and 2003. The Canadian government formally protested these actions. In July 2005, former Canadian defence minister Bill Graham made an unannounced stop on Hans Island during a trip to the Arctic; Canadian soldiers planted the maple leaf there. This launched yet another diplomatic quarrel between the governments and a truce was called that September between the two conflicting nations. Both issued a joint statement declaring that they will continue their efforts to reach a long-term solution to the Hans Island dispute.

The Hans Island



Source: www.privateislandsonline.com/hans-island.htm

Certain observers have suggested that Canada's ability to project control over Hans Island represents a significant indicator of Canada's ability to exercise sovereignty over its Arctic territory and sends important message to the nations around.

Issues over Extended Continental Shelves

A continental shelf is the submerged area subject to coastal State sovereign rights. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) governs the delineation of the shelf where it extends beyond the 200-nautical-mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ). A coastal state with a continental shelf extending beyond 200 nautical miles has 10 years from its ratification of UNCLOS to make a submission to the United Nations Commission for the Limits of the Continental Shelf (the Commission). The commission is made up of 21 experts from state parties to UNCLOS. In case where it disagrees with the merits of a state submission, the commission can formulate recommendations. In response the coastal states may make a revised or a new submission.

Canada ratified UNCLOS in 2003 and has until 2013 to present a submission to the Commission. Canada has begun scientific work in both the Atlantic and Arctic oceans to establish the maximum extent of its continental shelf, in accordance with international law. Doing so confirms the full extent of the area over which Canada has sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting the natural resources of the seabed and subsoil. Particulars of the outer limit of Canada's continental shelf will be submitted to the Commission by the end of 2013. The United States is the only state member of Arctic Council that has not ratified UNCLOS. However they are considering doing so. On 27 November 2006, Norway also submitted a claim to an extended continental shelf in the Arctic to the commission. Canada did not react to the submission. The commission has yet to finalize its position on the claim.

Russia, the first of the Arctic nations to ratify the treaty, has undertaken extensive mapping using its huge nuclear-powered icebreakers. Norway and Denmark have also

conducted undersea mapping. Canada, which ratified the treaty in 2003, is cooperating with Denmark on the ice northeast of Ellesmere Island, setting off explosives to seismically map the ground under the Lincoln Sea region of the Arctic Ocean. Russians have also formulated a formal claim in relation to the Lomonosov ridge¹⁹ which extends beyond the Siberian shelf. Moscow argued before a UN commission in 2001 that waters off its northern coast were in fact an extension of its maritime territory. The claim was based on the argument that an underwater feature, known as the Lomonosov Ridge, was an extension of its continental territory. In January 2002, Canada reacted officially to Russian submission, first it declared itself unable to determine whether it agrees with the Russian Federation's Arctic submission. Later Canada specified that its inability to comment at this stage should be viewed as neither rejection nor acceptance (Robert Dufresne 2008).

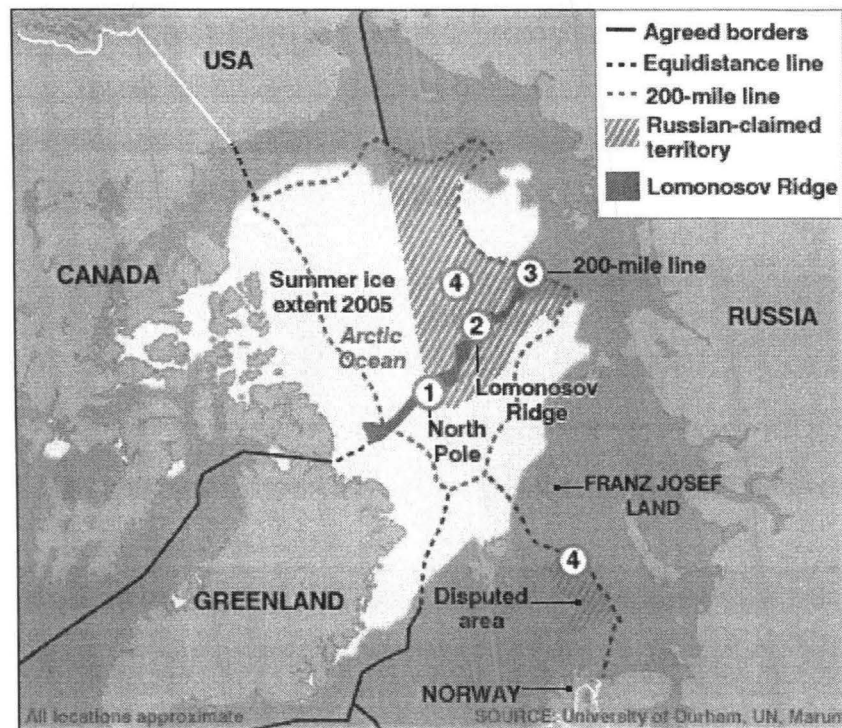
Russian explorers planted on the summer of 2007 their country's flag on the seabed 4,200m (14,000ft) below the North Pole to further Moscow's claims to the Arctic oil and gas reserves. The rust-proof titanium metal flag was brought by explorers traveling in two mini-submarines, in what is believed to be the first expedition of its kind. Canada's minister of foreign affairs, Peter MacKay reacted to the incident saying, "This isn't the 15th century. You can't go around the world and just plant flags" to claim territory (Rupert Taylor 2009).

Several countries with territories bordering the Arctic including Russia, the US, Canada and Denmark have launched competing claims to the region. The competition has intensified as melting polar ice caps have opened up the possibility of new shipping routes in the region. Canada is gathering seismic data and bathymetry (study of underwater depth) work, with a view to a future submission to the UN commission. In June 29, 2010 Canadian federal scientists say they are changing their plans to conduct seismic testing in the region because of concerns raised in Arctic communities. The

¹⁹ Lomonosov Ridge is an unusual underwater ridge of continental crust in the Arctic Ocean. It spans 1800 km from the New Siberian Islands over the central part of the ocean to Ellesmere Island of the Canadian Arctic islands. Russian scientists on Aug 2nd 2007 planted a rust-proof titanium metal Russian flag as a symbolic gesture of their claim to the region.

testing would involve sending sound waves through those waterways. Inuit have expressed concerns about the possible impacts seismic tests could have on marine wildlife. They have also said they fear what could happen if oil and gas resources are found in Lancaster Sound. Canada is currently undertaking a cartographic exercise aimed at mapping out and gathering evidence in support of its claims to an extended continental shelf.

Extended Continental Shelves Claim



Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6941426.stm>

1. North Pole: Russia leaves its flag on the seabed, 4,000m (13,100ft) beneath the surface, as part of its claims for oil and gas reserves.
2. Lomonosov Ridge: Russia argues that this underwater feature is an extension of its continental territory and is looking for evidence.
3. 200-nautical mile (370km) line: Shows how far countries' agreed economic area extends beyond their coastline. Often set from outlying islands.

4. Russian-claimed territory: The bid to claim a vast area is being closely watched by other countries. Some could follow suit.

The Law of the Sea and Five Maritime Zones

Coastal states have various sets of rights in relation to the waters that surround them. International law regulates the questions of the extent of the various maritime zones as well as the rights attached to it provided by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Canada was a key player in the elaboration of UNCLOS. The Law of the Sea treaty is an international agreement that resulted from the third United

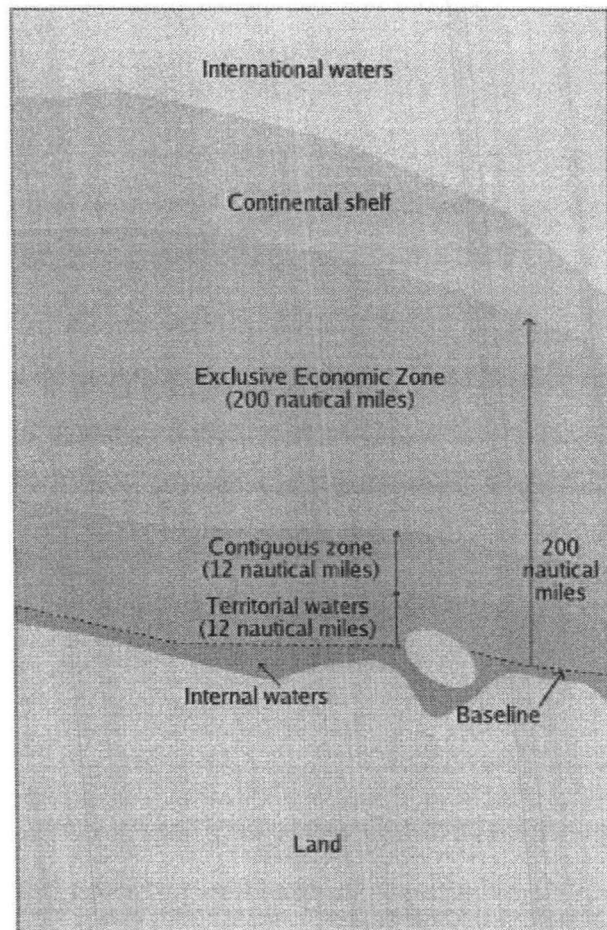
Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III), which took place from 1973 through 1982. The Law of the Sea Convention defines the rights and responsibilities of nations in their use of the world's oceans, establishing guidelines for businesses, the environment, and the management of marine natural resources. The Convention, concluded in 1982, replaced four 1958 treaties and UNCLOS came into force in 1994. Maritime zones are measured or determined from a line that is called the baseline. The baseline thus represents the end point of a state's territory and the beginning of its maritime extension. The convention set the limit of various areas, measured from a carefully defined baseline. The areas are as follows:

- Covers all water and waterways on the landward side of the baseline. The coastal state is free to set laws, regulate use, and use any resource. Foreign vessels have no right of passage within internal waters.
- Out to 12 nautical miles from the baseline, the coastal state is free to set laws, regulate use, and use any resource. Vessels were given the right of innocent passage through any territorial waters, with strategic straits allowing the passage of military craft as transit passage, in that naval vessels are allowed to maintain postures that would be illegal in territorial waters. "Innocent passage" is defined by the convention as passing through waters in an expeditious and continuous manner, which is not "prejudicial to the peace, good order or the security" of the

coastal state. Fishing, polluting, weapons practice, and spying are not “innocent”, and submarines and other underwater vehicles are required to navigate on the surface and to show their flag. This zone falls under territorial water.

- A state can claim a contiguous zone which extends beyond the 12 nautical mile limit there was a further 12 nautical miles or 24 nautical miles from the territorial sea baselines limit, the contiguous zone, in which a state could continue to enforce laws in four specific areas: pollution, taxation, customs, and immigration.
- Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) Extends from the edge of the territorial sea out to 200 nautical miles from the baseline. Within this area, the coastal nation has sole exploitation rights over all natural resources. In casual use, the term may include the territorial sea and even the continental shelf. The EEZs were introduced to halt the increasingly heated clashes over fishing rights, although oil was also becoming important. Foreign nations have the freedom of navigation and over flight, subject to the regulation of the coastal states. Foreign states may also lay submarine pipes and cables.
- The continental shelf is defined as the natural prolongation of the land territory to the continental margin’s outer edge, or 200 nautical miles from the coastal state’s baseline, whichever is greater. State’s continental shelf may exceed 200 nautical miles until the natural prolongation ends. However, it may never exceed 350 nautical miles from the baseline. Coastal states have the right to harvest mineral and non-living material in the subsoil of its continental shelf .Coastal states also have exclusive control over living resources in the continental shelf, but not to creatures living in the water column beyond the exclusive economic zone. UNCLOS provides that the state must pay a royalty to the International Seabed Authority.

The Five Maritime Zones



Source: Wikipedia, retrieved on 2008-07-17.

Canadian Government Policy Positions and Statement

The Government of Canada has historically proclaimed sovereignty over its Arctic territory and waters, and has periodically emphasized these claims. The government's 1987 White Paper on Defence, Challenge and Commitment, discussed the need for capabilities in Canada's "Three Oceans."

In 1999, the Arctic Sovereignty Working Group (ASWG) was formed with the aim of enhancing the security and sovereignty of Canada's North through information sharing and cooperation. The ASWG consists of 40-50 members from federal government

departments, Aboriginal groups, NGO's and other stakeholders with a mandate or interest in the North.

In 2000, the Government of Canada released The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy (NDFP). The NDFP lists four objectives:

- to enhance the security and prosperity of Canadians, especially northerners and Aboriginal peoples;
- to assert and ensure the preservation of Canada's sovereignty in the North;
- to establish the Circumpolar region as a vibrant geopolitical entity integrated into a rules-based international system; and
- to promote the human security of northerners and the sustainable development of the Arctic.

Recently, the issue of protecting and promoting sovereignty has been re-emphasized. In the October 2004 Speech from the Throne, the Prime Minister announced a northern strategy that would among other things, protect the northern environment and Canada's sovereignty and security. In April 2005, the Government of Canada released its International Policy Statement a Role of Pride and Influence in the World (IPS). This foreign policy document places much greater emphasis on the Arctic region and sovereignty concerns than the 1995 Canada in the World.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper in July 2007, announced efforts to forward to defend and strengthen Canada's Arctic sovereignty. The project is to include:

- the building of eight state-of-the-art Arctic offshore patrol ships,
- to construct a deep-water seaport at Nanisivik
- and to set a military training base at Resolute

Now Prime Minister Stephen Harper's promise to build a new icebreaker and five to eight Arctic naval patrol vessels and to refurbish a seaport at Nanisivik, Nunavut, in the Northwest Passage seems to be in doubt. Nearly three years after he made the announcement, the contracts for the projects have yet to be signed. The only promise that

appears to be going ahead is the world-class Arctic research station and that could also face trouble if funding for science in the Arctic is not increased dramatically²⁰. Canadians have always tended to regard the northernmost reaches of their land as an integral part. The vast frozen Arctic Archipelago even gets its own reference in the national anthem. The region is gaining importance due to global warming, technological advances and declining stock of global resources increasing interest and activity. There are renewed interests as we saw earlier and the claim made by different Arctic states has sparked a new vigor. Sovereignty is a word that is often used loosely in Canada, largely because it means different things to different individuals. As Rob Huebert of the Centre for Strategic and Military Studies points out, the Americans aren't going to give up a potentially rich energy resource in that region without a fight. Nor are they going to give up the right to ship that energy along a much shorter route through the Northwest Passage.

Defining new boundaries in the High Arctic may go more smoothly if the five coastal Arctic countries allow the commission that oversees the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea decides who has sovereign rights around the North Pole. Many experts are calling for a treaty or a series of international agreements that could manage disputes over fisheries, energy development, pollution control and shipping. Some of the smaller Arctic nations believe that Canada could take a leadership role since its giant among all other Arctic nations. "Sovereignty begins at home," says Mary Simon, president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the voice of 55,000 Inuit living there (Struzik 2010)

For a sustainable Arctic policy to formulate in Canada, can be done by establishing a constructive partnership Inuit. The Canadian government may have been able to ignore the Inuit and other countries' interests in the Arctic in the past. But there is growing international support for them and others becoming meaningful participants in the discussions. U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made that clear in early April 2010, when she chastised Canada for not inviting the Inuit and other Arctic countries to participate in discussions.

²⁰ <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca>

Chapter: 3

Canadian Arctic

Security Issues

CHAPTER 3

CANADIAN ARCTIC SECURITY ISSUES

The Circumpolar North is undergoing unprecedented transformation at an increasing rate. Changes at both local and international levels are altering the very fabric of the northern societies. Much of changes in the region can be seen after the end of cold war. The importance of Canadian Arctic is seen since the Second World War, Canadian armed forces have often represented the most prominent federal organization in the occupation and use of the Canadian arctic. Today Arctic is resource potential area and has new opportunities which need new innovative technological advances, growing young population and also increased social development. Simultaneously the fragile environment of arctic becomes a global focal point drawing all the circumpolar nations together towards a common issue. It is impossible to know what is the nature of change in future will be but the magnitude of change cannot be underestimated, nor should it be trivialized for Canada is at its centre (Rob Hubert 2008).

Canadian decision makers and Canadian face numerous decisions about how to have arctic developed. It is also clear that the increase in arctic activity will not be limited to the existing arctic states. Already non polar states such as China and Japan are increasing their interest and activity in the region. The major question which Canada faces is what will be the nature of international change and what is to be done to ensure that Canadian interests and values are best protected.

Prior to Second World War the region was a military vacuum an area with absolutely no strategic utility to anybody. The militarization of the arctic was initiated during the Second World War but the major role that the region came to play in Canada's security was defined largely by the Cold War. During the cold war in 1950's and in 1960's the air space over the arctic ocean began to be utilized for strategic purpose mainly deterrence.

Two measures have been proposed to counteract the trend towards militarization of the Arctic.

- To develop an integrated conception of Arctic security in which military requirements are combined with an awareness of the need to act for environmental economic and social security as well.
- New emphasis on opportunities for non- military co-operation which may overtime improve the outlook for confidence building and arms reduction agreement in the circumpolar North. (Willy Ostereng 1992).

Three main factors behind the post second world war militarization in the Arctic:

- The East West conflict which created the political framework for superpower tension and Bloc formation.
- Development in military technology, which produced the atom bomb and other nuclear weapons as well as long range means of delivery.
- Geo-strategic conditions, which indicated that the Arctic was a suitable deployment area for strategic, high technology weapons system. (Willy Ostereng 1992).

A distinction can be drawn between two main types of geo-strategic factors they are Universal one and state specific one.²¹ The universal feature of the Arctic is more prominent and visible than the state specific feature. The universal feature of the Arctic is well known. The shortest distance between three continents Asia, Europe and North America is over the Arctic Ocean. None of the major industrial areas in Europe, in the USSR, in the North America or in Japan lies more then 7,000 kilometer from the North pole or we can say that 80 percent of worlds industrial production takes place in the North of 30*N while 70 per cent of worlds cities are located North of 23.5* N. equally important is the fact that the superpowers can almost be said to have common borders in this area separated only by the narrow gap of the Bering Strait²²

²¹ Universal factors places the same geographical constraint on the choice of action of several states in a given region whereas, state specific factors which place particular geographical constraints on the choice of individual states in the same region.

²² The Bering Strait is approximately 53 miles (85 km) wide with an average depth of 98–160 feet (30–49 m). It connects the Chukchi Sea (part of the Arctic Ocean) to the north with the Bering Sea (part of the Pacific Ocean) to the south.

The Arctic was recognized as the continent's most vulnerable point since the shortest and the most likely route to be taken by any Soviet attack on North America was through the Arctic. Canadian security is being threatened not only since the hey days of cold war tension starting from 1950's and 1960's with the Soviet bomber attack in the Arctic. With the coming of both Nuclear Submarines and cruise missile technology the Arctic Ocean has suddenly emerged as a new theatre for superpower confrontation.

Though the cold war has ended with the collapse of Soviet Union and losing its superpower status the world came under dominance of sole superpower i.e, United States. With the end of Cold War the tension between the two superpower also ended and also with it the concept of traditional Security²³ in the north ended. But at present the issue gets further complicated by the fact that neither the United States nor the Russia has abandoned all of their traditional security concerns in the North and neither has indicated a willingness to do so in near future²⁴

Arctic security in the post cold war era adds further complexity while some experts say that traditional Security issues are still the core concerns among the circumpolar states, others seek to expand both the understanding of the nature of security and some argued that it was necessary to look beyond military threats to such as terrorism, illegal immigration, resource based conflict and environmental degradation in the context of national security. The Canadian government has so far has expressed a desire for an Arctic foreign policy that emphasizes comprehensive security including environmental and human security over traditional military security. In particular it would like to use

²³ The Traditional Security paradigm refers to a realist construct of security in which the referent object of security is the state. The prevalence of this theorem reached a peak during the Cold War for almost half a century, major world powers entrusted the security of their nation to a balance of power among states. In this sense international stability relied on the premise that if state security is maintained, then the security of citizens will necessarily follow. Traditional security relied on the anarchistic balance of power, a military build-up between the US and the Soviet Union (the two superpowers), and on the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state.

²⁴ The Americans agreed to join the recently formed Arctic council only if the agreements specifically omitted any security issues. Likewise Russians are still testing missiles from their nuclear powered and armed submarines which are very close to Canadian waters i.e., 500 km off Ellesmere Island.

concerns about transboundary environmental threats in the Arctic to develop stronger international co-operation.

Circumpolar Security during the Cold War

The Arctic became one of the most militarized regions during the Cold War in the early days of the War both sides developed long range bombers as their main delivery systems for nuclear weapons . Both sides placed defensive measures such as radar surveillance and interceptors as far in to their northern territories as possible. As technology advanced the preferred means of delivery became inter continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)²⁵

Arctic remained the main stage as both sides found that the further north they could place their detection system. The Arctic thus perceived as a remote vast neglected land was militarized and its land scape significantly altered as a result of Canada's effort to enforce its authority over the region. Communications and transportation infrastructures were built on those already in place from the Second World War .Particularly roads, airfields, airbases, telephone systems, and radio and radar sites.

Canada's North also became an important site for numerous Canadian and allied military and air force training exercises including weapons testing .Efforts were also made to improve Canada's strategic capabilities in monitoring and patrolling the Arctic, including the 1985 announcement to construct a new Polar class 8 ice breaker (Natalie Mychajlyszn 2008)

Further technological advances in missiles delivery systems cemented the Arctic as the primary area of potential strategic nuclear weapons exchange. Nuclear powered submarines allowed for the placement of submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's) on these vessels. Also with the advent of submarine launched Cruise missiles (SLCM's)

²⁵ The development of ICBMs in the 1960s and 1970s significantly diminished the Arctic's importance in defence Canada and the continent remained vulnerable to attack given that the Arctic and its surrounding waters could potentially provide launch sites for a mobile and therefore unpredictable Soviet submarine offensive.

armed with nuclear weapons, both sides United States and USSR found it necessary to deploy their submarines closer to the shores of their adversaries.

Throughout the Cold War Canadian defence policy was committed to three main elements.

1. The national defence.
2. The common defence of north America
3. Collective security(Rob Huebert 2006)

According to Rob Huebert (2006) the real physical threat to Canadian soil during this period was posed by USSR Canadian defence planners quickly recognized that the best defence against an attack on Canadian soil was to deter the Soviets from attacking in the first. Thus Canadian planning focused on contributing to the common defence of North America air and aerospace and to collective security in Europe.

As the Soviet Union expanded its strategic arsenal throughout the 1950's and the 1960's the direct threat to Canada grew. Canadian Cities were at risk of nuclear annihilation if war broke out. It soon became evident that there was a need of common defence in Northern American Airspace to defend against Soviet aerial capabilities and to deter against the missile threat from Moscow. Bi national efforts were seen between Canada and United States. One of these Arrangements was the 1957 Distant Early Warning DEW line²⁶ a string of radar stations stretching across the upper edge of the North American land mass, including, Alaska, Yukon and North West Territories, Baffin Island and Greenland. In 1985 the system was reconfigured and renamed the North Warning system.

The North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) established in 1958 was a key to bi national arrangements between Canada and United States later named as North America's Aerospace Defence command. Its original mission was to oversee the air defence of North American continent against the possibility of Soviet bomber attack. But

²⁶ The Distant Early Warning Line, also known as the DEW Line or Early Warning Line, was a system of radar stations in the far northern Arctic region of Canada, with additional stations along the North Coast and Aleutian Islands of Alaska, in addition to the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Iceland. It was set up to detect incoming Soviet bombers during the Cold War, a task which quickly became outdated when intercontinental ballistic missiles became the main delivery system for nuclear weapons.

as the soviets developed their missile capabilities, this role shifted to include an early warning system for the maintenance of nuclear deterrence with the passage of time NORAD became the central Canada and United States defence organization and a cornerstone of the strategic relationship between Washington and Ottawa.

NORAD's mandate was to monitor the airspace and later aerospace above North American including Arctic region and to provide warning and possible response to irregular and military threatening activities including an attack by aircraft, missiles or space based systems.

Canadian officials led to the effort to develop the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), (Rob Huebert, and 2006 Canada's Partnership in Flux) and the reasons were practical policymakers in Ottawa recognized that the growing soviet threat was best met by collective security. They also wanted to create a forum where Canada's defence relationship with United States could be balanced by the inclusion of the other states. The Canadian contribution to NATO was substantial. From 1950's to the late 1980's Canadian land and air assets were stationed in Europe and its naval Forces were tasked almost exclusively for anti submarine duties against the USSR. Membership in NORAD and NATO also meant that Canada was operating alongside the most advanced military powers in the world. Specifically, the United States meant that Canadian forces were required to develop the means and technology to cooperate with American Forces on a day to day basis'

Over the time a secondary priority peacekeeping²⁷ next to military deterrence also emerged. Today this role of Canada has been widely accepted by most Canadians as the main reason why Canadian forces exist. The fact that peacekeeping was something that Canada appeared to do without the assistance of the United States also appealed to those concerned, about American dominance. Canadian peacekeeping was actively encouraged by successive Canadian Government who found it politically saleable concept.

²⁷ Canada has always been a strong supporter of the United Nations (UN) and of peacekeeping, and has participated in almost every mission since its inception.

The oversea focus of Canadian defence policy led to the domestic misconception that the principal mission of these forces was for international peace keeping rather than collective security against the USSR resulting in a lack of appreciation for their war fighting nature and on going difficulty in acquiring new and necessary equipment. As a result by the time cold war ended a substantial disconnect existed between Canadian society and its forces (Rob Huebert 2006).

The militarization of Canadian north paralleled the experience of the other NATO allies such as Norway (the only ally to share a border with the Soviet Union), Denmark particularly where in view of its lack of a military force not only joined NATO but also entered in to defence relationship with the United States. For Soviet Union the Kola Peninsula²⁸ was home not only to its Northern Fleet (which was second in size only to the United States Pacific fleet and included its most powerful ballistic missile submarines forces) but also to sizable concentration of air and ground offensive capabilities.

The Soviet Union the present day Russia has the largest permanently stationed forces in the Arctic. The United States saw Europe as the primary theatre and the Arctic largely as the Northern Flank. Thus while the United States military presence in Alaska in the form of National Guard as well as the armed services (land, air and naval forces) were important it played only a secondary role despite the proximity of the Soviet Union. Thus throughout the Cold War both the sides valued the Arctic strategically as one of the main exchange point for their nuclear weapons. Both sides refused to consider any form of international cooperation and relations in the Arctic were frozen throughout the Cold War. The first sign of thaw in circumpolar relations came in October 1987 when in a speech in Murmansk Mikhail Gorbachev called for the Arctic to become a zone of peace. The NATO did not take his overture too seriously because the geographic limits of his proposed zone stopped short of the Soviet naval base in Murmansk.

²⁸ The Kola Peninsula is a peninsula in the far north of Russia a part of Murmansk Oblast. The peninsula borders upon the Barents Sea in the north and the White Sea in the east and southeast. The western border of the Kola Peninsula stretches along the meridian from the Kola Gulf through Lake Imandra, Kola Lake and the to the Kandalaksha Gulf.

Canada's military interest in the Arctic flowed and ebbed during and after the Second World War Arctic battleground has now become the scene of resource rush (L.col. Paul Dittmann 2009)

During Cold War the Arctic became the Battleground for American and Soviet intercontinental and submarine launched ballistic and cruise missiles forces. The dramatic and rapid paradigm shift from Cold war to the Global War on Terror underscores the unpredictable nature of modern threats (Paul Dittmann 2009). Canadians have always felt secure in the knowledge that the Arctic was its own defence by virtue of an inhospitable climate the huge distance involved and terrain that would surely discourage any serious thought of invasion (Paul Manson 2007). Mason's quote highlights how Canadians have seldom needed to look north.

Arctic's Changing Security Landscape in the Post Cold War Era

With the end of cold war the threat of a military confrontation with the Soviet Union began to diminish the Arctic's role in Canadian and continental security and defence .But security is defined as absence of threat to values and needs then threats to Canada's security did not disappear but rather got transformed. The collapse of USSR had an immediate impact on circumpolar security concerns. Most NATO leaders were willing to accept that the new Russia did not pose the same threat as the former USSR. But at the same time Russia continued reliance on nuclear weapons caused most western states to be cautious (Rob Huebert 1999).

Attention began to shift from traditional security concerns to non traditional security concerns especially to environmental security after the end of Cold War. The period of 1990's saw most of the Arctic states shifting its focus from military concern to non military concerns like environmental protection and fishery patrols. The most important security step taken by the Arctic states was done by United States and Norway to help Russian Government in safe decommissioning of nuclear powered submarines. With the collapse of the Russian economy and following the disintegration the Russian

government was in no position to do away with its nuclear submarines. Ex Soviet submarines were simply allowed to rot in harbor. International concern grew that the nuclear reactors left on board could suffer a meltdown or breach thereby posing a serious environmental threat. The United States, Norway and Russia created the Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation Program (AMEC).²⁹

At the same time, the Arctic states began to reduce the forces that they had deployed in the region, reduced or eliminated Arctic based exercises, and stopped developing policies that were directed to operations in the Arctic. For example, Arctic states such as Canada not only cancelled their plans to buy nuclear-powered submarines with the end of the Cold War, but also ended, or substantially reduced, all of their forces' northern operations (Matthew Carnaghan, Allison Goody 2006).

It seemed that military confrontation in the Arctic, which had begun in the Second World War, had been cast into history as the Cold War ended. The focus of almost all writing on the circumpolar world in the 1990s was that a new and cooperative era was beginning (Franklyn Griffiths 1992). According to Rob Hubert (2010) two developments began to surface during 2005 that suggest that the circumpolar states are also beginning to think again about increasing their ability to strengthen their military capabilities to act in the region.

- Most of the Arctic states have recently developed and issued a series of foreign and defence policy statements regarding Arctic security. This in itself was a deviation from the previous decade and did not even occur during the Cold War.
- The second emerging trend was the redevelopment of northern military capabilities. Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and the United States have all either begun to rebuild their Arctic capabilities, or have indicated their plans to do

²⁹ The Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation (AMEC) Program was established in 1996 when the AMEC Declaration was signed by the Ministers of Defence of Russia, Norway and the U.S. Secretary of Defence. AMEC provides a forum for Russia, Norway, and the U.S. to collaborate in addressing military-related environmental concerns in the arctic region. Of special concern were the large quantities of unsecured spent nuclear fuel from decommissioned submarines that threatened the fragile arctic environment.

so in the near future. Some countries, such as Denmark and Norway, have already spent considerable resources rebuilding their military forces. Other states, such as Canada, have drawn up significant plans to do so in the near future.

Canada eyes the importance of the Arctic differently from the United States. In both its 1999 report transforming Defence National security in the 21st century and its 2008 Annual Threat of the Director of National Intelligence the United States fails to identify the Arctic as a national security concern, omitting comment on its hydrocarbon reliance and substantial Alaskan reserves (L.Col. Paul Dittmann 2009).

Today's reality is that the Global system has changed and continues to do so. No longer is it static or symmetrical, but it is fluid and non bi-polar as the developing world is trying to catch up with the West life and level of influence. The current Canadian Government is taking a pragmatic approach towards the Arctic. Its 2005 Policy Declaration articulated Canada's First defence policy in which domestic defence includes commitments to provide improved security of Canadian territory so far Canadian security in North has relied often heavily on United States support.

In 2004, Canada articulated its national security policy and defined its top security interest as "protecting Canada and the safety and Security of Canadians at home and abroad" (Privy Council office 2004). Then in 2005, the defence policy statement articulated the most critical security issue as the government's in ability to conduct surveillance of Canada's vast territory, air space and maritime approaches. When looks at the make up of the arctic, it is clear that, despite its land mass and vast ice-locked area, it is a costal and archipelagic region³⁰ maritime qualities. With 64 per cent of Canada's coastline in the Arctic and a demonstrated limited ability to guard it, this frontier is penetrable and vulnerable.

Canada has never been able to defend itself from a conventional state on state attack and nor will it be able to in the future it relies on a collective defence through NATO and

³⁰ Archipelago is a large group of islands, archipelagic is part of an archipelago.

specifically with the United States. Canada has sufficient infrastructure in place to fulfill its surveillance requirements. It is unable to do so in its Arctic (L.Col. Paul Dittmann 2009).

The most significant emerging trend among the circumpolar states was the redevelopment of Northern Military capabilities. Canada, Denmark, Norway and United States of America have already begun to develop their arctic capabilities or have indicated their plans to do so in near future. Demark and Norway have already spent considerable amount other states such as Canada have drawn up significant plans to do so in near future . Even if these states claim publicly that the Arctic of the 2000's is of cooperative and peaceful as the Arctic of 1990's but the Arctic states actions and expenditures reveals something else. These states they are considerably becoming concerned about maintaining their ability to protect and defend their interest. There reemergence of combat capability which disrupted after the end of Cold War. There is lot of questions which comes to one's mind. Like, are the arctic states developing themselves to protect their Arctic interest because climate change makes the region more accessible or may be these states started viewing their future Arctic states doing more of conflict than cooperation among themselves. To understand the situation better we will try to see security policy and actions of each of the main Arctic States.

Arctic Security Interdepartmental Working Group (AISWG)

The Arctic Security Interdepartmental Working Group has become one of the most important instruments available to the Canadian government to examine and coordinate Canadian Arctic security policy. Created in the spring of 1999, it is a bi-annual forum at which Canadian federal and territorial government officials meet to discuss and coordinate activities relating to Canadian Arctic security. Its membership includes academics and representatives of various northern Aboriginal groups in meetings that are held on a rotating basis among the three territorial governments. The ASIWG allows for each department to educate the other members about security issues that they have experienced. In this manner, it has also proved beneficial in providing for the

coordination of policy and planning activities. A first meeting at Yellowknife in May 1999 was attended by officials from the Canadian Forces, the RCMP, Coast Guard, Revenue Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) and Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Positions of Arctic States after the End of Cold War

Canada

Throughout the 1990's the main thrust of the Canadian position was to develop in cooperative fashion. Official statement of Canada stated that there is no need for military security in the region after the fall of USSR. The focus shifted from military to environmental security. Canada was one of the first states to publicly discuss rebuilding its arctic security capability. In the mid 2000's the short lived Paul Martin's Liberal government launched two key initiatives to examine Canada's Arctic needs from both domestic and an international perspective. The Martin government launched a defence policy review which ultimately led to examine Canada's Arctic needs from both a domestic and an international perspective. He launched a defence policy review, which ultimately led to a set of policy papers on defence diplomacy development and international trade. These documents were not like white paper but it made it clear that Canada needed to improve its ability to protect its Arctic region. The Martin government also began to develop a domestic Arctic policy that would provide the government of Canada position on the North called the Northern strategy built on seven pillars.

Under the Stephan Harper government the conservatives also raised the issue of building up Canadian capability during his campaign in 2005-2006. He surprised many observers and analyst by promising to rebuild Canadian Arctic forces. This included a commitment to build icebreakers to be operated by Navy. Following the election victory the new conservative Government continued to improve the Canadian forces. From 2006 to the present the Harper government has continued to develop its plan to strengthen Canada's

Northern strategy³¹ capabilities. In May 2008 the First Defence strategy of the Conservative government got released in which it stated its concern about Canada's ability to protect the North.

So far the Canadian government has ceased conducting Arctic military exercise in the Arctic at the end of the Cold War in 1989. However in 2002 as we saw the Canadian government was one of the first Arctic states to recommend these exercises amidst a growing concern led by succession of Canadian forces. The scope of Canadian exercise includes submarines, frigates, coastal patrol vessels, ice breakers, F 183 and CP-140 as well as land units.

Operation Nunavut major sovereignty operations conducted every year by the Canadian Forces in Canada's North. The primary intent of this operation is to project Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic Canadian Forces (CF) Operation Nunavut 2010, which ran in the high arctic from April 6th to 26th, 2010.³²

As of 2010 the Canadian government has developed considerable effort in drawing up plans to improve its ability to know and act in the Arctic and these efforts clearly exceed prior efforts.

Denmark

Denmark is an Arctic state since it is controlled by Greenland, although it is seldom considered as a military state. During the Second World War it was defeated by

³¹ The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy sets out a vision for Canada and its place in the circumpolar world, based on cooperation with people in the North and Canada's circumpolar neighbors. It delivers the international dimensions of the four pillars of Canada's integrated Northern Strategy: Protecting Canada's environmental heritage; Promoting economic and social development; Exercising Canada's sovereignty; Improving and devolving governance.

³² Op NUNALIVUT 10 demonstrated the ability of the Canadian Forces to operate in the most challenging and austere conditions in Canada. The operation is conducted along the most northern tip of Ellesmere Island. It also marked a number of firsts for the Canadian Forces. These included the first landing and takeoff of an Air Force CC-177 Globe master III aircraft at CFS Alert, from gravel and ice covered airfield and the first CF dive in the high Arctic, which was the longest sustained ice dive operation in CF history.

Germany. It did join NATO as one of the member state but provided limited assets to the alliance. In the Cold War era it has rebuilt significant element of its forces in to small but modern and combat capable force. At policy level, Denmark like many other Arctic state have issued several policy statements and engaged in several diplomatic actions regarding circumpolar relations. In 2008, it hosted a gathering of five Arctic states Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and United states to determine other limits of their extended continental shelf under the terms of United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Later Denmark released its Defence agreement. This provides a road map for the development of Danish armed forces for the next four year. It had a significant section in the Arctic justifying. Danish government announced to establish an Arctic task Force and Arctic command that will deploy F-16 fighters in the Greenland.

Towards the end of Cold War the Danish government decided to build a class of four ice-capable patrol vessels. The first of these vessels was laid down in October 1988 and final vessel in November 1992. These vessels are able to travel through ice up to 1 meter thick and are armed with 76mm guns. To this date the vessels are not presently operating since funds are less. However they could be made operational if conditions compel them. The addition of these vessels illustrates an interesting point about the adding new military capabilities in the Arctic. Canada and Denmark have a long term disagreement about a small island between Greenland and Ellesmere Island³³.

The Danes are building now two more ice-capable petrol vessels the Knud Ramussen that will also be given combat capability. The Danish navy has also built class vessels that will include a strong anti-air and anti submarine capability. The Danish Air Force had expected to pick the F-35 joint strike fighter as a replacement for F-16 in 2009 as Denmark has substantially funded the development of aircraft. Like Canada Denmark has begun to redevelop its Arctic security policy. But they further ahead of Canada .the

³³ The Danes commissioned Thetis class frigates and the dispute was characterized by the occasional visit to the island by Canadian Danish official and scientist. After the commissioning of Thetis the Danish Government deployed land troops to strengthen its claim, this was followed by in 2003 with the visit of sister ship named Triton. The Canadian government responded in July 2005 by flying its minister of Defence Bill Graham to the Island with Canadian troops a move in which the Danish Government denounced it as occupation.

Danish forces are being outfitted for combat capability with clear intention that most of its forces will be able to operate in or near Arctic.

Norway

Norwegian territory in the Arctic includes the Svalbard archipelago, whose combined area is 64,000 km². The central issue for Norwegian Arctic security is their relation with Russia. It is clear that while they want to maintain a friendly and cooperative relationship, they are concerned by what they see as increasingly assertive Russian actions in the Arctic. (Rob Huebert 2010). Like all of the Arctic states, Norway has also issued new northern foreign and defence policies. In November 2005, the Norwegian Government issued its policy platform entitled The Soria Moria Declaration on International Policy. This stated

“The Government regards the Northern Areas as Norway’s most important strategic target area in the years to come. The Northern Areas have gone from being a security policy deployment area to being an energy policy power centre and an area that faces great environmental policy challenges. This has changed the focus of other states in this region. The handling of Norwegian economic interests, environmental interests and security policy interests in the North are to be given high priority and are to be seen as being closely linked.”³⁴

The policy makers of Norway believe that there is no immediate threat to the security of Norway including threat from Russia. Later the Norwegian foreign policy on the High North made it clear that it is in the interest of both Norway and Russia to cooperate in the region. The policy statement also showed the interest of maintaining robust capability in the region through the armed forces.

³⁴ Office of the Prime Minister (<http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/smk/documents/Reports-and-action-plans/rapporter/2005/The-Soria-Moria-Declaration-on-Internati.html?id=438515>)

Recently the Norwegian Minister of Defence Grete Faremo on January 4, 2010 has made it clear that while Norway does not see an immediate military threat coming from Russia, they remain concerned that their relationship could deteriorate in the future over northern issues. According to her Russians have resumed its military activities in areas adjacent to Norway's border. Even if Norway doesn't see it as a threat yet they have to follow developments closely. Norway's situation from security policy standpoint is affected to a large degree by developments in Russia.

With this The Norwegians are now engaged in a very substantial rebuilding of their forces. In the most expensive single defence project ever undertaken by Norway, they are building a new class of Aegis capable frigates³⁵. The first was laid down in September 2003 and commissioned in 2005. The last of the class is expected to come into commission in 2010. They have signed a contract to buy forty-eight F-35 fighter aircraft from the US. This is the most capable, modern (and expensive) aircraft in the market. It is also intended to be used in a high threat environment. The Norwegians have also re-established large-scale military exercises in their northern region named Exercise Cold Response³⁶; these operations have been conducted in 2006, 2007, 2009 and 2010. These exercises began in 2006 and involved more than 10,000 Norwegian and NATO troops.

All these expensive purchases, programs and exercises suggest that though Norway claim to give statements of cooperation in the North and the Norwegian government see no immediate military threat developing in the region but they are spending as if they are expecting one to develop in near future. Both their recent purchases and exercises also demonstrate a desire to work closely with the United States. Norwegians are building a significant combat capable force for use in the north should the need arise.

³⁵The Aegis Combat System is an integrated naval weapons system, it is an advanced command and control (Command and Decision, or C&D, in Aegis parlance), and Weapon Control System (WCS) that uses powerful computers and radars to track and guide weapons to destroy enemy targets. Frigates the term has been used for warships of many sizes and roles over the past few centuries.

³⁶ The multi-national NATO exercise led by the Norwegian Armed Forces offers challenging training in the middle of an Arctic winter and is vital in ensuring that the Royal Navy maintains its traditional sea-fighting capability whilst undertaking amphibious warfare in a cold weather environment.

Russia

Russia is perhaps the most difficult state to understand in terms of Arctic security. While in no way as secretive as it had been during the Cold War, it tends to be more closed than the other Arctic states. Consequently it is often difficult to fully understand Russian actions (Rob Hubert, March 2010). The Russian threat though diminished after the end of Cold War, its defence expenditure have quadrupled from 2000 to 2006 with an estimate d additional 30 per cent increase in 2007(L.Col. Paul Dittmann 2009).

One senior Russian official stated that Russia was already training its forces for conflict in the Arctic. Lt. Gen. Vladimir Shamanov, who heads the Defence Ministry's combat training directorate stated in June 2008 that: "After several countries contested Russia's rights for the resource-rich continental shelf in the Arctic, we have immediately started the revision of our combat training programs for military units that may be deployed in the Arctic in case of a potential conflict."³⁷

Russia is by far the largest state and a crucial player. Geographically speaking almost 20per cent of Russian territory is considered to be Arctic or sub Arctic. Soviet Regime was one of the first to exploit Arctic resources (Laruelle Marlene 2009). In recent years Russia has become more stable and has experienced fast economic growth due to high energy prices. Russia appears with renewed self-assertiveness on the international stage. Relations between Russia and Western powers particularly the United States and Britain have become more strained. Russia is changing rapidly as a result of complex interaction of economic, political, socio-cultural and technological forces, both from within and outside the country. Russia is changing rapidly as a result of complex interaction of economic, political, socio-cultural and technological forces, both from within and outside the country. The new Arctic strategy to 2020, particular attention is devoted to infrastructure development aimed at reducing economic differences among Russian regions, in particular in the Arctic and Far East.

³⁷ (<http://en.rian.ru/russia/20080624/111915879.html>)

Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and massive decommissioning of its submarine fleet, Russia still remains a significant polar ice capability with 38 nuclear submarines. Additionally, as Russia benefits from historically high oil and gas commodity prices, it has been able to afford a resurgence of military activity such as the 2007 resumption of Tupelov bomber flights in to the Beaufort Sea Basin.

The core of Russian rebuilding is based on their 2007-2015 rearmament programs, which calls for a general rebuilding of Russian military forces. The Russian plan to rebuild their submarine force which will have great impact on the Arctic. The Russian Navy has also announced that it will be building up its surface capability. At the heart of this rebuilding are five to six carrier battle-groups. The navy is planning to deploy six aircraft carrier groups with its Northern and Pacific fleets by 2030. The Russians are the only Arctic state that has continued to build large icebreakers. The icebreaker, 50 Years of Victory, was completed in 2006. It is nuclear-powered and is the largest and most powerful icebreaker in the world. The Russian Air Force is also planning to update its strategic bomber fleet.

In summer 2008, the Russians resumed surface naval patrols in Arctic waters. On one occasion, two warships the Severomosk and the Marshal Ustinov sailed into the disputed waters between Norway and Russia on the rationale of “protecting” Russian fishermen in the region. In 2009 they sent two nuclear missile carrying submarines (Delta -IVs) (SSBN) escorted by nuclear powered attack submarines (SSN) into Arctic waters, where they test-launched several missiles. This demonstrated that Russians could re-enter ice covered waters to fire their missiles.

In 2007 Russian explorers have planted their country's flag on the seabed 4,200m (14,000ft) below the North Pole to further Moscow's claims to the Arctic. Russia's flag-planting mission follows a claim made by its scientists that the Lomonosov Ridge an underwater mountain chain that runs across the Arctic Ocean between Russia and Canada is geologically linked to Russia, giving it ownership of a sprawling, resource rich area of the polar seafloor under a UN convention governing undersea territorial claims .

Canada, which also claims territory in the Arctic, has criticized the mission. Canadian Foreign Minister Peter MacKay said, “This isn't the 15th Century; you can't go around the world and just plant flags and say we are claiming this territory”.³⁸ The Russian mission's leader, explorer and parliamentarian Artur Chilingarov, said “the flag would be a permanent mark of Russia's presence at the pole”. According to Sergei Balyasnikov of Russian Arctic and Antarctic Institute, “it’s a very important move for Russia to demonstrate its potential in the Arctic it’s like putting a flag on the moon”.³⁹

Since 2007, the Russians have been increasing their military activity in the Arctic, and they have also announced plans to substantially increase their forces based there. They continually issue statements affirming their commitment to peaceful cooperation in the Arctic, which shows up in the form of public statements by their leaders and in their primary documents. These same leaders are also very quick to condemn the actions of the other Arctic states as being aggressive and a threat to international peace and security in the region whenever they engage in any form of military related activity. It is clear, however, that the Russians have embarked on a much more assertive use of military force in the region by taking various action the missile test launches near the pole, the sudden and substantial resumption of the long-range bomber patrols, and the voyages of their surface units into the disputed zones which exceeds that of any of the other Arctic states. (Rob Huebert 2010). So far what we have seen is that the Russians proposed rearmament plans greatly exceeds any other Arctic state. Thus, the Russians have excelled at portraying themselves as cooperative while taking increasingly assertive action.

United States

The United States has seldom regarded its Arctic region as central to its core interests. However, events such as the Japanese invasion of two of its Alaskan islands and the development of weapons technology, like nuclear powered submarines, forced the

³⁸ <http://www.siberianlight.net/>

³⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6927395.stm>

Americans to think of Arctic security and they did so with utmost vigor and determination.

Ironically, the United States has been the only Arctic state to consistently produce formal Arctic policies. To a certain degree these policies, released every 10 to 15 years, have normally produced little real impact on American policy in the Arctic region. The Bush Administration released its Arctic Policy in January 2009 that ranked Arctic security as the United States' number one polar priority. The 2009 policy stated that the policy of the United States to:

- Meet national security and homeland security needs relevant to the Arctic region;
- protect the Arctic environment and conserve its biological resources;
- ensure that natural resource management and economic development in the region are environmentally sustainable;
- Strengthen institutions for cooperation among the eight Arctic nations (the United States, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, and Sweden);
- Involve the Arctic's indigenous communities in decisions that affect them;
- Enhance scientific monitoring and research into local, regional, and global environmental issues.

Unlike the other Arctic states, the United States maintained some of its most important military capabilities in the Arctic in the post-Cold War era. Throughout the 1990s its military presence in Alaska was never dramatically reduced. In the early 2000s one of three antimissile interceptors was positioned at Fort Greely, Alaska. This location was selected because it provides good coverage for any missiles fired from North Korea.¹⁰⁸ Thus; the Arctic remains a strategically important location for the US. (Rob Hubert 2010).

The Americans have also been updating their fighter aircraft based in Alaska. Throughout the post-Cold War era the Americans had deployed a relatively older version of the F-15C, based at the Elmendorf base near Anchorage, for use by the Alaska National Guard

The US Forces did experience a reduction in ice-breaking capabilities during the 1990s and 2000s. Officially the Americans now have three icebreakers. However, two of these vessels are aging and it's doubtful that one of them will ever be taken out of its current reserve status. Like the other Arctic states, the US has also been increasing the scale of its military exercises. Beginning in 1993, the US began an annual exercise named Northern Edge⁴⁰.

Overall, the United States is acting somewhat like the other Arctic states. It is releasing new documents on Arctic security, it is conducting northern exercises and its leaders are beginning to discuss the need to build further capacities. The US differs from the others since it remain mute when it calls for co-operation. American documentation does call for greater international cooperation but the Americans make it clear that it is not their highest priority area. The US differs from the others in that it is somewhat muted in its calls for cooperation. American documentation does call for greater international cooperation, but the Americans make it clear that this is not the highest priority for them. It becomes complicated to understand United States stand on the Arctic security unlike the Russians who's some of the key elements of their position are some what determined and classified. In January 2009, on the eve of Obama's inauguration, President Bush issued a National Security Presidential Directive on Arctic Regional Policy. It affirmed as a priority the preservation of U.S. military vessel and aircraft mobility and transit throughout the Arctic, including the Northwest Passage, and foresaw greater capabilities to protect U.S. borders in the Arctic (Michael Wallace and Steven staples 2010)

The Americans have just announced that the USS Texas⁴¹ a brand-new, Virginia-class attack submarine has surfaced at the North Pole. Till now, conventional wisdom⁴² held

⁴⁰ Northern Edge 2008 was a joint training exercise running May 5-16, 2008. It is Alaska's premier joint training exercise designed to practice operations, techniques and procedures, and enhance interoperability among the services. Over 5,000 participants from five of the United States Armed Forces (Air Force, Army, Navy, Marines and Coast Guard) from active duty, reserve and National Guard units are involved. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Edge)

⁴¹ USS *Texas* (SSN-775), Texas is the first Virginia-class submarine to conduct operations in the Arctic. Texas is in transit to its new homeport at Naval Station Pearl Harbor, Hawaii and the fourth ship of the United States Navy.

that this class of submarine was not designed for use in Arctic waters. With the arrival of the Texas at the North Pole however, it seems that either conventional wisdom was wrong or the Americans have something in their mind which is vague.

Contemporary Threats in the Arctic with the end of Cold War

The threat of military confrontation from Soviet Union got diminished with the coming of new kind of threats. Arctic's security and defence profile got reconfigured in light of new emerging threats and priorities. The Arctic is transforming at an alarming rate at almost every level allowing the circumpolar states to come up with new ventures and have started moving towards north which is yet to be explored leading to various kind of security threats.

Environmental Security

It presents a major and growing challenge to the Arctic and the world as a whole. Recent studies have shown that the ice in the Arctic is melting at rates that are exceeding even the predictions which were made earlier. Some scientist went to the extent of saying that the entire ice cover will melt in the coming next few years. Already the last two years have seen the largest melts of ice on record. With the disappearance of the ice in the region the Arctic will become more accessible to the world outside. Along with that the southerners would travel to the Arctic more often and will also get motivated to go north. Climate change is leading to environmental security in the region. Since the Arctic is becoming vulnerable. Thawing of ice is disrupting the ecosystem and animal and life dependent on them. Risk of ecological imbalance and marine pollution accompany the possible increase in shipping through the Arctic waters and the North West passage that may be soon accessible due to climate change. Canadian scientists had begun to note that contrary to common belief, the Arctic region was not a pristine environment. The types

⁴² Conventional wisdom (CW) is a term used to describe ideas or explanations that are generally accepted as true by the public or by experts in a field. The term implies that the ideas or explanations, though widely held are unexamined and hence, may be reevaluated upon further examination or as events unfold.

of pollutants that were being found in the Arctic were not indigenous to the region. Some such as persistent organic pollutants (POP)⁴³ were used mainly as insecticides and fertilizers. Obviously, such pollutants were not originating in the north. It became apparent that the pollutants were reaching the north through a series of geophysical factors. The distance travelled by the pollutants led to the term Trans boundary pollutants. The net impact on the Canadian north is that as long as the United States refuses to address its growing carbon gas production, the Canadian north will probably continue to face increased temperatures. This will create a greater accessibility to the Canadian Arctic by both southern Canadians and foreigners (Rob Huebert 2008)

Energy Security

The entire region of Arctic contains tremendous amount of resource wealth. The melting of the ice is opening up vast reserves of offshore oil and gas, new shipping routes and fishing grounds, according to experts at the World Economic Forum. But the scramble for Arctic wealth is complicated by the lack of agreement on which countries have legal claim to the territory, as well as border disputes, including those between Russia and the US. Eight countries the US, Russia, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland have claims to the Arctic, while resource-hungry China has also started showing interest. (Anthony Browne 2006). The Russians are already preparing to develop several offshore Arctic regions for its gas and oil. They are now spending between 17\$ and 40\$ billion on the development of the Shtokman field in the Barents Sea, which many believe will be the largest gas field in the world. On the other North American side Exxon and its partners stunned industry observers with their 500\$ million lease and exploration programme. The most recent study conducted by the US Geological Survey now estimates that the Arctic region contains 13 per cent of the undiscovered technically recoverable world resources of oil and 30 per cent of the undiscovered technically recoverable resources of gas. Arctic is becoming the source of world wide attention as the

⁴³ Persistent organic pollutants (POPs) are organic compounds that are resistant to environmental degradation through chemical, biological, and photolytic processes. Because of this, they have been observed to persist in the environment, to be capable of long-range transport, bioaccumulate in human and animal tissue, biomagnify in food chains, and to have potential significant impacts on human health and the environment. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persistent_organic_pollutant

next treasure-trove of resources. (Rob Hubert 2008). The potential for finding new deposits of natural gas and oil in these areas is quite high. Canada, the largest external supplier of oil and petroleum products to the US, exports approximately 2 million barrels per day of crude oil to the US, which is between 10% and 15% of US requirements. Canada consumes about one million barrels of its own crude oil per day for domestic use. At present the Canadian Arctic region is only a minor contributor to this production. Anticipated increases in natural gas consumption in the coming decade due to higher oil and petroleum costs will heighten the need for new natural gas deposits to be found. Many think these new deposits will be found in the Arctic regions. This will bring additional pressures on the Canadian and US governments to control exploration, drilling and shipping (Kolisnek George 2008).

Human security

It was developed as a direct challenge to the traditional security. Emerging as an important theoretical and policy force in the early 1990s, human security challenges realist assumptions on two points. First, human security contends that it is often the state that is the biggest threat to the security of its own citizens. This was predominately based on the action of states that justify the mistreatment of their own citizens in the name of national security. Thus, police states and other forms of authoritative states were seen as the biggest threat. The second theme of human security is that the best means of responding to threats to the international system is through cooperative behavior of both the individual through civil society and with the state. Supporters of human security contend that it is through the enlightened joint actions of civil society and states in the international system that can introduce the norms and new institutions necessary to eliminate threats to international peace and security. Human security also includes health security and cultural security. Health security is focused on the threats to the health of a community through actions that are taken by either the state that contains the community or through action taken by the greater international community (Rob Hubert 2006)

Illegal Trade and Trafficking

One such risk is that of an increased illegal migration and trafficking of people in North America through the Arctic. There is also fear that there can be illegal trade of narcotics too. After the post September 11 era fear has also been looming large on the increased vulnerability of the Arctic as a passage for the terrorists and fear of transport of biological and chemical weapons through these route are also seen. (Natalie Mychajlyszn 2008). Such unauthorized activities would be difficult to detect and contain.

All these new development and opportunities are created by melting ice will create conflict and security challenges. Each new opportunity in shipping, fishing, tourism, and energy brings a burden to protect human life and the environment. Increased human presence introduces accidents, crime, hazardous material dumping, terrorist activities, and other adverse environmental impacts.

During Cold War issues in the Arctic were relatively straightforward for Canada. It was the military technology and geography that placed Canada literally in the middle of USSR and the United States as the Cold War developed. Even if Canada wanted to remain neutral, its location would inevitably force it to take sides. As the Cold War ended policy makers were quick to alter the perception of Canada's circumpolar security needs Canada's political thinkers began publicly to endorse the shift from traditional security concern to expanded understanding of security i.e. non traditional security threats including environment ,cultural and economic etc. Also Canadians must be aware of their neighbours that don't view the Arctic's future as optimistically as they do. Today, almost all the Arctic states surprise Canada by up grading and rearming themselves. The Danes and Norwegians have spent the past decade rebuilding much of their navy and air force and also have altered their defence policies. The Russians are staging a comeback in regard to its Arctic policies and expanding their oil and gas resources in the region. Whereas United States position in the region is always complex to understand, they talk of cooperation in the region but they don't exactly seem to do it.

It is becoming apparent that Arctic is becoming area of interest for non Arctic states as well like the Japanese are investing heavily in the study of Arctic gas hydrates off the coast of Canada as an energy source. The Chinese are also increasing their investment in polar research and have begun to develop their Arctic research vessels to the Arctic. Arctic security cannot be understood in isolation it involves wide range of issues and initiatives that make this a very complex policy area. Moreover the uncertainty which prevail in the nature of emerging threats in the region makes it difficult to address the current security issues.

The attacks of 9/11 drastically changed the manner in which North Americans viewed security. They drove home the existence of new threats, replacing the perceived danger posed by the Former Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. In summary, the factors that have pushed Canadian policy-makers to re-examine Arctic security will not soon dissipate. Terrorism will remain a threat to North American security; climate change is not going to reverse itself; at some point in time, oil and gas development will occur in the Canadian north; and the attention accorded Arctic sovereignty and security issues by the national media will not soon disappear. Canada is now experiencing a renaissance in how it addresses the issues of Arctic security. It has acknowledged the cost of its previous neglect, and it appears poised to develop the tools needed to meet the challenges that are already re-shaping the Arctic region (Rob Hubert 2008).

Chapter: 4

Canadian

Foreign Policy over

Northern Arctic

Region

CHAPTER 4

CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY OVER NORTHERN ARCTIC REGION

Canada is recognized internationally as a Northern Nation and has been a pioneer on Northern Circumpolar relations. Foreign policy is important to the Northern part of Canada including the three major territories which includes Yukon, the Northwest Territories (NWT)⁴⁴ and Nunavut and Northern portion of certain provinces. The reason for its importance is whatever happens outside the borders of Canada increasingly has an impact on the lives of the Northerners particularly the Aboriginals⁴⁵. Although internationally the world considers Canada to be a Northern nation many Canadians fail to acknowledge this condition. Many Canadians look towards South rather than North because significant changes in Canada takes place in the region which is far from the Arctic region and which is more close to the United States borders. Yet Canadian North is being rapidly integrated in to the world at large. Globalization is also reaching the North and is not immune from it (Walter and Duncan Gordan Foundation Report 2006).

The Canadian North remains the forgotten region for the Canadians. While it contains the largest coastline of Canada's three oceans and has tremendous resource potential (Rob Huebert 2009). Climate change is projected to ease access to and promote development of hydrocarbons and mineral resources in the North, since it is assumed that 25 percent of world's remaining hydrocarbons are located in the circumpolar world. Some even foresee that North West Passage⁴⁶ will be used by general cargo vessels reducing the shipping times and cost between Asia and Western Europe.

⁴⁴ NWT is federal territory of Canada located in the northern Canada.

⁴⁵ Aboriginal people in Canada include the First Nations, Inuits , Dene and Metis.

⁴⁶ The Northwest Passage is a sea route through the Arctic Ocean, along the northern coast of North America via waterways amidst the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Canada has an active foreign policy and has a commitment to engage the world as being the immigrant rich, free trading country that occupies half a continent, borders three oceans and is adjacent to the United States of America the super power. But until recently Canadian North was hardly been featured at all in the Canada's foreign policy. The North may be huge in area but it is thinly populated and sends only a handful of elected representatives to the parliament of Canada. Canada is often represented as northern country, but there most of the population is crowded close to the border of United States. So they naturally look towards South rather than North. The rural North is home to Inuit, Dene, Métis and many First Nations⁴⁷ whose values goals relationships with the natural environment are rather different from those Canadians living in urban centres like Montreal or Toronto.

For Canadians the North remained as a land of untested promises and potential. Canadian government encouraged its citizens to move northwards to develop the resources of the region also encouraged immigrants to seek their future in this Northern frontier. Northern development features became an ongoing feature of both federal and provincial government efforts through out the first few decades of the twentieth century. During this period the Canadian government was also worried about foreign encroachment especially the Americans in its North. As early as the gold rushes⁴⁸ in British Columbia and Yukon Ottawa showed its worry continuously that its northern lands might come under the control of the United States either by direct annexation or by more subtle alienation. Throughout the first few decades of the twentieth century the Canadians government conducted an ongoing diplomatic effort to secure international recognition of its territorial claims over land and waters (Nelson Michaud and Marc J O' Reilly 2006).

⁴⁷ First Nations are the largest Aboriginal group in Canada, comprising more than 600,000 people. The term First Nations represents the first peoples of Canada, and their descendants, who are neither Inuit, nor Metis. First Nations includes many culturally diverse groups living across Canada.

⁴⁸ A gold rush is a sharp migration of people to an area found to have significant gold deposits.

Northern Interest of Canada from the Cold War Perspective

Canadian views towards North got refocused with the coming of the World War Two. Before it had little strategic value acted as a place of little interest. Suddenly with the fighting taking place between the Europe and Asia the North became a strategic region. Ottawa no longer considered the Northern region as a backyard as it did in the past but saw it as a true circumpolar domain⁴⁹. Throughout the World War Two Canada and United States expanded its military presence in the region and later created bases in Greenland and Iceland to secure this domain against Germany. Canadian and American naval forces provided war time supplies to Britain and Soviet Union. The United States also stationed its war time military presence in Alaska to defend against the Japanese attack on west coast of North America. American forces were also stationed at many communities in Canada to assist the transport of military equipment in the front. The most significant activity was the construction of Alaska Highway. At the peak of the war 50,000 troops Canadian and American troops were stationed at various positions in the Circumpolar North (Natalie Mychajlyszyn 2008).

Strategic significance of the circumpolar North was witnessed in the World War Two but its importance further got heightened with progress of the Cold War. By the late 1940's it was evident that the circumpolar north is going to be a potential zone of conflict between the NATO alliances⁵⁰ and the Soviet Union. Both Canada and United States was seen as providing military assistance and support to each other and also to their European allies from their Northern territories. Military bases troops and equipments were based in the Canadian Northern region. As the cold war progressed Canada and United States further strengthen its defence cooperation in the North. In 1951 they agreed to build up the Pinchee Radar Defence System to give warning of any Soviet attack across the Arctic region. In 1955 it was followed up by the construction of the more sophisticated Distant Early Warning a Radar System (DEW line) in the high Arctic of Canada. Finally in 1958, the countries signed the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD),

⁴⁹ The circumpolar region is made up of eight countries that circle the North Pole.

⁵⁰ NATO is an intergovernmental military alliance based on the North Atlantic Treaty which was signed on 4 April 1949 which constitutes a system of collective defence.

which helped in integrating American and Canadian defence planning. Despite few irritants which developed between America and Canada in the process of close cooperation yet the two countries tended to develop similar views and saw North as a primarily as a zone of potential conflict in the bi-polar world. Later this region saw numerous international agreements that were signed by the various circumpolar states during the entire period of the Cold War.

Gradually there was a general thawing of the Cold War environment throughout the international system during the late 1960's and 1970's and Canada was trying to stand firmly among its circumpolar neighbors. Canada and various other circumpolar nations tried to co-operate with one another. Firstly, with the formation of various programs dealing with Arctic research secondly, Satellite technology providing another mode for cooperation among the nations, third is the area of multilateral agreement in ecological protection and finally cooperation through cultural activity.

Keeping this in mind from time to time many steps were taken by Canada and its circumpolar neighbors and states tried to cooperate among them. In 1970, the circumpolar countries got together in the Polar Bear Treaty, which seek to protect the species of the region which is cooperation on the ecological front. In 1977 Inuit Circumpolar Conference was conducted by the Inuit's of Canada which was a step based on cultural cooperation. This was a unique innovative group which is considered as Canada's principal multilateral link with its circumpolar neighbors. The drive behind the conference did not come from Ottawa; the idea came rather from the Inuit communities themselves, since the federal government was reluctant to finance and was indifferent to these region. In the same year Canada, United States the Soviet Union and France agreed to co-ordinate and form search and rescue operations through the use of metrological satellites which are called as SARSAT PROGRAM⁵¹. Since the search and rescue was particular concern in the Arctic it was another possibility of circumpolar co-operation

⁵¹ Sarsat is an international satellite-based search and rescue (SAR) distress alert detection and information distribution system.

through the satellite technology. Under the RADARSAT⁵² program which is another satellite program initiated by Canada later joined by United States and the United Kingdom to constantly monitor the navigation of ships, monitor any ecological disasters or simply obtain more data on natural resources within their boundaries. In 1983 Canada and Denmark signed a framework agreement for marine environmental cooperation in Davis Strait and Baffin Bay area to handle pollution prevention, clean up and navigation in the waters.

With all these steps taken, Canada can reach out to its circumpolar neighbors, what has been lacking all this time was the will to go about. At this very point of time the North grew to become area of strategic significance. The age of Arctic was being heralded for the first time largely in defence terms. Canada still retained the optimistic view that circumpolar cooperation could win in longer terms.

With the advent of major changes in the international scenario the world was about to witness the end of the Cold War between the superpowers. Like the coming of Mikhail Gorbachev to power in Soviet Union, it was apparent that there would be new initiatives that would try to lessen the tension that grew during the Cold War. The area of North still remained a priority zone for military planners in Moscow, Ottawa and Washington, new issues and new actors were being gradually added to the Northern Agenda. The North was no longer seen as empty land rather new issues like interest of people, animals and environment of the region were being discussed with greater frequency. A variety of new collaborative efforts were being proposed by scientists, researchers and environmentalist from Canada, United States of America, Soviet Union and Nordic countries⁵³. These states were interested in working together in the North to investigate common regional concerns such as Arctic air and water pollution, atmospheric warming and threats to species survival. These states are now more interested in using the Arctic in peaceful and co-operative manner and destroying the concept of considering the North forever to be a zone of conflict. The early initiative like the formation of the International Arctic Science

⁵² Developed under the management of the Canadian Space Agency (CSA) in cooperation with Canadian provincial governments and the private sector, it provides images of the Earth for both scientific and commercial applications.

⁵³ The Nordic countries make up a region in Northern Europe and the North Atlantic which consists of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

Committee and The Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) were going to bare fruit in the next decade to come (Nelson Michaud and Marc J O' Reilly 2006).

Whereas the government of United States of America was reluctant to give up their idea regarding the North that was established during Cold War. This came to light when the Regan administration issued a Policy Statement in spring of 1983 giving priority to defence issues and the first element of US Arctic Policy was to be protecting essential security interests in the region, including preserving the principle of freedom of high seas and airspace. Even after the fall of Berlin wall the United States was unwilling to give up its superpower vision of High North.

Canada's response to changing international environment was more flexible. Canadian scholars and policy makers were eager to broaden their agenda of Northern diplomacy beyond military and strategic issues. Canadian scholars were more eager supporters of the idea of abandoning the old bi polar framework for considering Northern Question and replacing it with broader and more inclusive circumpolar orientation. Canadian domestic political agenda's included native right and economic development in the Arctic. These various strands of interest and issues came together in the late 1980's in the form of Canada's proposal for the creation of an Arctic Council.

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk in October 1987 established the foundation for expanded East-West peaceful interaction in the North. In his remarks he called all the Arctic states to come together and set aside their differences and form a permanent council. Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The Arctic is not only the Arctic Ocean, but also the northern tips of three continents: Europe, Asia and America. It is the place where the Euroasian, North American and Asian Pacific regions meet, where the frontiers come close to one another and the interests of states belonging to mutually opposed military blocs and nonaligned ones cross" (Nelson Michaud and Marc J O'Reilly 2006).

Joint effort by the responsible government departments and interested policy groups like the Capital Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CBCIIA) which

helped in the formation of the council. Together they produced series of discussion paper and drafted convention that set out the structures, goals and functions of the Arctic Council. The Arctic Council was declared finally by the eight Arctic Countries in Ottawa on 19th September 1996. It evolved out of Arctic intergovernmental co-operation on environment called the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy or AEPS which was signed in 1991. Finland took to initiative to form AEPS; she felt that it needed assistance from its Arctic neighbors in dealing with transboundary environmental issues⁵⁴. On other hand Canada also felt the need to have a broader forum to include these issues in the Arctic through the council. The government of Canada began almost immediately to seek support in the international arena; it pressed its initiative with the government of Nordic states. These countries saw substantial merit in the Canadian proposal and indicated their tentative approval for the creation of the Circumpolar Organization. Later in the same year Ottawa got support from other additional leading aboriginal NGO of the region – the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

While Washington did not actively oppose Canada's initiative to gain support for the Arctic Council among the Circumpolar States. In number of occasions United showed its desire that until the American concerns were not adequately addressed the United States would not become the member of the proposed circumpolar organization. American policy had long given a priority to defence issues in this area as mentioned earlier United States of America was unable to give up its strategic vision of the region. United States was unwilling to give up their superpower vision of decision making and was reluctant to accept the new model of multilateral decision making even for a relatively remote region such as the Arctic. With all these disagreements yet the organization finally and successfully came in to existence in September of 1996. The establishment of the Arctic Council marked the growing maturity of the circumpolar region. Canada recognized that it shared many common challenges, problems and opportunities with its Arctic neighbors, so it sought to expand co-operation through the Arctic Council to create a circumpolar

⁵⁴ Pollution sources outside the Arctic are a threat to the Arctic environment. Persistent organic pollutants (POP) are transported northward by air, sea and possibly river water, and accumulate to hazardous levels in the food chain. Long-range transported sulphur dioxide (SO₂) may cause Heavy metal emissions from industry in the region cause serious contamination locally and regionally.

community that would be self-aware and able to work together on problems regionally and globally⁵⁵.

Canada took the chair of Arctic Council in the starting two years (1996-1998) and promoted series of initiatives. These include crafting and adopting the council's rules of procedure and terms of references and also the establishment of four working groups.

1. Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP)
2. The Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF)
3. The Protection of Arctic Marine Environment (PAME)
4. Emergency Preparedness and Response (EPPR)

The Northern Dimension of Canadian Foreign Policy

The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy (NDFP) is a vision set out for Canada and places themselves in the Circumpolar world, based on cooperation with Northerners and with their Circumpolar neighbors. Building upon the recommendations of a 1997 report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and following consultation with Northerners, the government of Canada released in June 2000 the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy (NDFP). In an increasingly interdependent and globalized world community, Canada's long-standing foreign policy tradition of promoting international co-operation in pursuit of shared objectives, through institution building and pragmatic problem solving, continues to take on greater importance. Both the tradition of transnational co-operation and the new emphasis on human security are particularly applicable to the shaping of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy. Over the past decade or so the idea distinctive Northern Dimension or cross border policy towards the circumpolar North has gained interest in Europe and the EU, Canada and to lesser extent USA.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ <http://www.international.gc.ca/polar-polaire/ndfp-vnpe2.aspx?lang=en>

⁵⁶ (<http://www.international.gc.ca/polar-polaire/ndfp-vnpe2.aspx>)

The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy is framed by three principles meeting their commitments and taking a leadership role, establishing partnerships within and beyond government and engaging in ongoing dialogue with Canadians, especially Northerners. With this framework, the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy will have four overarching objectives:

- To enhance the security and prosperity of Canadians, especially northerners and Aboriginal people.
- To assert and ensure the preservation of Canada's sovereignty in the North,
- To establish the circumpolar region as a vibrant geopolitical entity integrated into a rules-based international system,
- To promote the human security of northerners and the sustainable development of the Arctic.

These objectives will be pursued through a focus on four priority areas for action:

- Strengthening and promoting a central place in circumpolar relations and policy co-ordination for the Arctic Council.
- Helping to establish a University of the Arctic designed to foster academic excellence and sustainability including traditional knowledge, using distance-education techniques and supporting the enhancement of a Canadian and Circumpolar policy research network.
- Developing and expanding opportunities to assist Russia in addressing its Northern challenges through strengthened bilateral activities and by working with our circumpolar partners in various regional forums and in the European Union.
- Promoting the study and practical application of means for circumpolar countries and communities to develop sustainable economic opportunities and trade across the Arctic Circumpolar region.

To implement the NDFP the department will focus on playing a leadership role in the Arctic Council to further Canadian priorities, engaging Circumpolar countries on

Canada's Northern policy priorities, strengthening the capacity of Northern organizations to participate in Circumpolar policy dialogue and cooperative activities and increasing public support for Canada's role in building a vibrant Circumpolar community.

Various federal departments involved in the Arctic work towards these priorities together, in partnership with provincial, territorial and international governments and Northern stakeholders. Canada continues to be an active player in the Circumpolar North. They are proud of their role in building a strong and dynamic circumpolar community - a community that is proactive and that recognizes the importance of promoting and protecting this unique region of the world.

The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy evolved out of discussions and consultations with Canadians, especially Northerners over a number of years. For the purposes of the NDFP Canada's North comprises the Yukon, the Northwest Territories Nunavut, Nunavik (northern Quebec), Labrador which includes Nunatsiavut , the Canadian mid-North large areas of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec that reflect northern conditions.

At home and abroad, the North has taken on new importance in Canadian foreign policy. Canada needs to bring a comprehensive Northern dimension to its foreign policy. To be effective, the new policy supposed be an integral part of Canada's broader foreign policy and also be reinforced by domestic policies. Globalization exposes all regions to new political, economic, social and environmental forces, which often diminish regional control over events even in the most industrialized countries. These forces include the revolution in information technology⁵⁷, the transboundary movement of persistent organic pollutants, climate change and the spread of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis or AIDS. The transboundary nature of these forces makes international co-operation imperative.

The forward-looking move to identify a 'Northern Dimension' in government policies indicates the value governments and institutions place on their Northern territories.

⁵⁷ The emergence of electronic commerce which also helps in diminishing borders.

The objectives mentioned above will be pursued through a number of initiatives and venues. In particular, Canada's northern foreign policy will focus on four priority areas:

- support for the work of the Arctic Council,
- participation in the expanding international support for northern Russia,
- realizing the full potential of the University of the Arctic,
- enhancing a Canadian and circumpolar policy research network,
- Promoting sustainable development through the pursuit of economic and trade opportunities across the circumpolar region.

Strengthening the Arctic Council

The Arctic Council of 1996 as an umbrella organization to give political impetus and strategic direction to the circumpolar community. As founding chair, Canada sees the Council as the main focus of their emerging Northern foreign policy. To maintain their influence in the region, Canada will deepen their commitment to Circum-polar partnerships, beginning through the Arctic Council. A unique feature of the Arctic Council is that it gives opportunity for direct participation of Northerners, particularly indigenous Northern peoples. The Council has broken new ground internationally it does so with the full and active participation of the

1. Inuit Circumpolar Conference,
2. the Saami Council,
3. the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North,
4. the Aleut International Association.

Through the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy, Canada intends to focus policy efforts and increased resources on strengthening existing activities of the Arctic Council and promoting a continued and increased role for Permanent Participants. Indeed, Canadian support for emerging Northern civil society could prove invaluable in influencing the decision-making process on Arctic issues in major world capitals. It will facilitate the development of Northern people-to-people contacts, and will support increased North-South linkages. It will continue to encourage Indigenous community

⁵⁸activities, while promoting the participation and leadership of Aboriginal community leaders. Canada will promote more effective linkages between the Arctic Council and other forums in which Arctic issues are addressed.

Cooperation with Northern Russia

A prosperous Russia is crucial to the stability of the international system and a sustainable and prosperous North is crucial to the stability of Russia. With only 8 percent of the national population the Russian North produces 20 percent of the country's gross domestic product GDP. With 80 percent of the North's total population, Russia is by far the most populous circumpolar area. In 1997, some 12.1 million people, including 200 000 Indigenous people lived in the Russian Far North.

The collapse of the Soviet development strategy has had environmental impacts that are well known and impossible to ignore. For example, sulphur dioxide discharges from metal and mining enterprises have damaged vast territories in the Kola Peninsula⁵⁹. According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, 150 nuclear reactors from decommissioned submarines are waiting to be dismantled in Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. The Agency report also states that more than 8500 tons of highly enriched spent fuel is waiting to be reprocessed and properly stored around the Barents Sea and an additional 500 million cubic metres of low-level radioactive waste remains to be treated.

The situation for Indigenous peoples is even more difficult. They are struggling to revive their traditional culture. Living conditions remain harsh. Finances appear inadequate to support the re-emergence of sustainable Indigenous communities.

Although most international attention and assistance has focussed on Northwestern Russia, circumstances northeast of the Urals are equally urgent. The situation in the

⁵⁸ Also known as aboriginals including communities like Metis, first Nations and Inuit.

⁵⁹ The peninsula borders upon the Barents Sea in the north and the White Sea in the east and southeast. The western border of the Kola Peninsula stretches along the meridian from the Kola Gulf through Lake Imandra, Kola Lake and to the Kandalaksha Gulf.

Russian northeast should also be factored into International Financial Institution action plans and programs.

Canada has a historic interest in Russia's prosperity and security also it has much at stake there. The future of the Russian North, therefore, is important to Canada and is a key focus of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy.

The Arctic identity that Canada shares with Russia provides a special basis for co-operation focussing on the North. Canada has a number of bilateral agreements covering Northern issues, especially in areas of scientific and economic development and more recently, development assistance in the areas of the environment and Indigenous peoples. Because of the environmental similarities, Canada has always had a commercial interest in Russia.

Through CIDA's⁶⁰ Technical Assistance Program, Canada is already making a significant contribution to democratic development and economic liberalization in Russia. This strategy has been successfully extended to the Russian North, where 20 projects are currently under way in the areas of good governance, economic reform and the environment.

Radioactive waste clean-up and environmental remediation are other areas in which Canadian Russian partners would welcome Canadian expertise. Canada can make a major contribution by promoting other policy objectives, such as non-proliferation and disarmament, as well as environmental protection. At the 1999 Group of Eight (G-8) Summit in Cologne, leaders agreed to address these issues by building a broad international partnership on expanded threat reduction. Within this initiative, activities are being considered for addressing the management of radioactive waste originating from military activities, and the decommissioning of Russian nuclear submarines, particularly at sites in the Russian Arctic.

⁶⁰The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was formed in 1968 by the Canadian government. CIDA administers foreign aid programs in developing countries, and operates in partnership with other Canadian organizations in the public and private sectors as well as other international organizations. It reports to the Parliament of Canada through the minister for International Cooperation (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canadian_International_Development_Agency.)

Perhaps more than any other country, Canada is uniquely positioned to build a strategic partnership with Russia for development of the Arctic. In the short term, this means giving priority to addressing the socio-economic and environmental issues in the Russian North. Canadian objectives should be formulated in a way that reflects broader international goal and Canadian activities should take into account the capacity of other partners, especially the United States and the European Union to undertake funding responsibilities and partnerships. Specific Canadian activities could include:

- Contributing funds toward the implementation of the 1992 Canada-Russia Agreement on Co-operation in the Arctic and the North, as well as the 1997 Memorandum of Understanding concerning Co-operation on Aboriginal and Northern Development,
- Working to expand bilateral economic and business ties with northern Russia, in co-operation with provincial and territorial governments, as well as business and NGO communities
- Supporting the activities of the Working Group on the Arctic and North, under the aegis of the Inter-governmental Economic Commission. This could include the creation of a Canada-Russia Northern Chamber of Commerce and the promotion of northern transportation routes,
- Including a focus on Russia in northern youth exchange programs and internships to promote people-to-people contacts for future generations.

Establishing a University of the Arctic and a Canadian and Circumpolar Policy

Research Network

Canada has been a consistent proponent of the development of a Circumpolar University of the Arctic, which would help to build on northern (including Indigenous) knowledge and develop Northern capacity to manage the challenges of the Arctic region in the decades to come. Such a concept would also integrate advances in distance education, where Canadian experience is substantial.

A complementary focus, both through the University of the Arctic and through existing institutional capacity is the strengthening of an Arctic policy research network that links Canadian experts more effectively with each other and with experts across the Circumpolar world, again taking advantage of new communication and information technologies. This connected expertise should not only benefit basic research and knowledge but should also be encouraged to contribute directly to the work of the Arctic Council through policy-relevant analysis.

Existing expertise resides in many Canadian locations: academic institutions such as the Universities of Calgary, Alberta, Manitoba and Northern British Columbia, and Yukon and Arctic Colleges; agencies and NGOs such as the Canadian Polar Commission, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (Canada). There are many scientists and policy experts at the federal, provincial and territorial levels. Private-sector firms that have operations in the North employ experts across a range of fields. Many of these experts have their own linkages with like-minded experts within Canada and across the circumpolar world. However, many of them face chronic under-funding and poor connectedness to policy-making bodies. These issues must be addressed if Canada is to play a serious role in circumpolar affairs.

The Canadian government will work with provincial and territorial counterparts, granting institutions, foundations and private-sector interests, as well as interested Arctic Council partners, to promote enhanced and connected Canadian and cross-polar expertise in academic, NGO and Northern-based institutions. The focus will be on determining how to develop a University of the Arctic distance-education program. Some specific initiatives to be considered include:

- Developing a University of the Arctic distance-education program,
- Increasing the number of northern youth internships, youth employment and student exchanges, and education options through the University of the Arctic and affiliated colleges within the circumpolar region,

- Providing partnered funding for the development of a Canadian circumpolar policy research network, linking complementary Canadian institutions. The effort would also include linking up with other circumpolar research centres.

Promoting Sustainable Economic Opportunities and Trade Development

There are increased pressures and opportunities related to economic development in the Canadian and Circumpolar North. These will create important challenges that a coherent Canadian policy strategy must address. Trade and investment are certain to increase across the Arctic region. Pursuing such initiatives as the Arctic Bridge and intra-Arctic shipping could have important benefits for the livelihood of Northerners.

However, as has also been stated, these developments will also demand increased vigilance effective monitoring and management that will ensure that the fragile Arctic ecology is not compromised. Much can be done, through the Arctic Council and research networks among others to study and prepare for these developments. An important focus of Canada's Northern foreign policy is to promote both the analysis and the development of management, monitoring and enforcement regimes. To this end, the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy tries to promote the following:

- discussions with the Arctic Council regarding the expansion of circumpolar transportation infrastructures and the reduction of transportation costs,
- the inclusion of a Northern trade dimension in future Team Canada missions,
- the launching of talks with our Arctic Council partners to facilitate trade and investment flows in the Circumpolar region,
- the creation of a Circumpolar Chamber of Commerce, building upon those existing in the Northern regions of Nordic countries and northwest Russia, and on the network of contacts within the Northern Forum,
- the investigation of the potential of eco-tourism, in co-operation with territorial governments.

Ongoing Dialogue with Canadian and Circumpolar Civil Society

The announcement and implementation of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy does not mean the end of the dialogue with Canadians on Circumpolar Arctic issues. The government believes that it is critical to maintain an ongoing process of interaction and discussion with interested stakeholders, as the policy implementation process unfolds and new questions and developments inevitably appear that can benefit from further consultation.

The government, under the leadership of the Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs, is committed to maintaining this dialogue. In parallel, other venues for discussion and debate, as well as opportunities for organizations to make their views known to members of the Arctic Council, are welcomed and encouraged. Enlarging the circumpolar partnership is essential to the promotion of a greater extra-regional understanding and support for northern and circumpolar interests.

For example, the Northern Forum, consisting of 20 sub-national governments, largely from the Arctic Council states and international NGOs such as the World Wildlife Fund for Nature and the International Union for Circumpolar Health, is encouraged to pursue their interventions on specific issues. In addition, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade SCFAIT, as well as the Parliamentarians of the Arctic region, should remain actively engaged and should continue to focus Canadian thinking on our national interests in the Circumpolar North

Canada's International Policy Statement 2005

In 2005 the Government of Canada's International Policy Statement - A Role of Pride and Influence in the World articulated a vision for Canada's global engagement. This was billed as Canada's first comprehensive, integrated international policy framework and claimed to deliver on the Government's commitment to invest in Canada's international role. In the Overview document it was noted that the demands of security and sovereignty

for Canada are pressing because of the predicted changes to Canada's North over the next two decades. The rationale in this policy statement for more focus on Canada's Northern Dimension.

In the overview document, and in the Defence and Diplomacy sub-documents, the government accepted that it had neglected Canadian Arctic security, and that it now needed to concentrate upon it, due to a number of predicted emerging changes to Canada's North during the next two decades.

In addition to growing economic activity in the Arctic region, the effects of climate change are expected to open up our Arctic waters to commercial traffic by as early as 2015. These developments reinforce the need for Canada to monitor and control events in its sovereign territory, through new funding and tools (Rob Huebert 2008)

This theme is brought out even more clearly in the Diplomacy and Defence sub-documents, where the need for Arctic security figures prominently in the sections dealing with the protection of North America. The Defence IPS states: "The demands of sovereignty and security for the Government could become even more pressing as activity in the North continues to rise" (Rob Huebert 2008). Echoing the findings of the ACS Report, the policy acknowledges that these new challenges will not follow the pattern of traditional security threats. But the government will need to respond to these new challenges with the capabilities that only DND can provide.

The government commitment to improving its Arctic sovereignty and security can also be found in domestic policy initiatives. The most important of these, entitled Arctic Strategy, is currently being led by officials from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and it includes various members of the federal government and three territorial governments, most of whom have some association with the ASIWG. While it is still being developed, it will have six main goals and objectives. One of these is reinforcing sovereignty, national security and circumpolar co-operation. While it is too soon to know for certain what this policy will contain, it is striking that the International Policy

Statement and Arctic Strategy have both acknowledged the need to re-examine Canadian Arctic security.

Five-Year Evaluation of the NDFP

An evaluation of the NDFP by consultants to the Inspector General of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) was completed in May 2005 based on a review of files and 94 interviews with federal and territorial government personnel, Aboriginal peoples and third parties with Northern interests. In order to include the department's response, the evaluation was only made public in summer 2006. Key findings of the evaluation include:

1. A northern dimension to its foreign policy is both necessary and relevant for Canada.
2. The two foreign policy issues of central concern to Northerners are environment and sovereignty;
3. The Arctic Council is seen as the centre-piece for advancing Canada's foreign policy interests in the Arctic. Canada plays a key role through participation in the Council's working groups and by funding the Canadian-based Permanent Participants;
4. Increased support is needed to all three Canadian-based Permanent Participants but most obviously to the Arctic Athabaskan Council and the Gwich'in Council International;
5. There is a need for firmer policy direction, stronger diplomatic efforts and an enhanced role for the Ambassador of Circumpolar Affairs, and stronger partnerships between DFAIT and other departments;
6. It is questionable whether DFAIT should continue to financially support the University of the Arctic;
7. Little evidence is found of significant progress in working with Russia to address Northern challenges. The NDFP is criticized for supporting too many projects which dissipate its resources;

8. Activities supporting sustainable economic development and trade were inconsistently linked to the NDFP and outcome rather than results oriented;
9. Some progress had been made on northern co-operation with the European Union;
10. Little evidence is found of effective engagement of Canadians, especially Northerners and Indigenous groups in ongoing policy dialogue.

Existing Institutions in the Region

Canadian Polar Commission

Established in 1991 as the lead agency in Polar research the Canadian Polar Commission has responsibility for monitoring, promoting and disseminating knowledge of the Polar region. Contributing to the public awareness of the importance of polar Science to Canada, enhancing Canada's international profile as a circumpolar nation and recommending polar science policy direction to the government of Canada. The commission hosts various conferences and meetings from time to time conduct workshops and Publishes information on subject related to polar research and also works closely with the government and NGO's to promote and support the region.

The Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC)

It is an international treaty organization established to represent the interests of United States and Canadian Athabaskan member First Nation governments in Arctic Council fora, and to foster a greater understanding of the common heritage of all Athabaskan peoples of Arctic North America. The founding members of AAC include four Alaskan Athabaskan communities ,three Athabaskan representative bodies on the Canadian side ,the Council of Yukon First Nations, representing eleven Yukon First Nations, the Dene Nation, representing 30 First Nations in the Northwest Territories and Northern Manitoba and the Metis Nation Northwest Territories, representing 13 communities in the NWT. In total, Arctic Athabaskan founding member governments represent approximately 32,000 indigenous peoples of Athabaskan descent residing in Arctic and Sub-Arctic North

America. As more member governments from both the United States (Alaska) and Canada join, this number is expected to increase to approximately 40,000.

The objective of the Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC) is to create an international organization for northern peoples of Athabaskan descent. Its principle purpose is foster greater understanding of the common heritage of all Arctic Athabaskan peoples of Canada and the United States and to represent the Athabaskan peoples of Arctic Canada and the United States as a permanent participant in the Arctic Council.

The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) is the international organization representing approximately 160,000 Inuit living in the Arctic regions of Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Chukotka, Russia. The principal goals of ICC are: to strengthen unity among Inuit of the Circumpolar region, promote Inuit rights and interests on the international level, ensure and further develop Inuit culture and society for both the present and future generations, seek full and active participation in the political, economic, and social development in our homelands, develop and encourage long-term policies which safeguard the Arctic environment and work for international recognition of the human rights of all Indigenous Peoples

The ICC General Assembly is held every four years, bringing together Inuit from across the northern circumpolar region. Assembly delegates elect a president and an executive council, and develop policies and resolutions for the coming term. The General Assembly is integral to the organization as it allows for discussion to ICC, and strengthens the cultural bonds between all Inuit.

The Gwich'in Council

Established in 1992, the Gwich'in Tribal Council (GTC) is an Aboriginal organization that represents Gwich'in Beneficiaries in the Mackenzie-Delta of the Northwest Territories and across Canada. The objectives of the GTC are to:

- protect and preserve the rights, interest and benefits of the Gwich'in in reference to their use, ownership and management of lands, waters, and resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Area,
- retain, preserve and enhance the traditional and cultural values, customs and language of the Gwich'in in a changing society,
- develop and promote economic, social, educational and cultural programs that will enable the Gwich'in to become self-sufficient and full participating members in a global society,
- uphold the rights, interest and benefits of the Gwich'in in reference to the Constitution Act, Treaty 11 and the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement.

Inuit Circumpolar conference

Originally known as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) is a multinational non-governmental organization (NGO) representing the 150,000 Inuit (often referred to as Eskimo people living in the United States, Greenland and Russia. The Conference first met in June 1977, and holds a General Assembly every four years. ICC is one of the six Arctic indigenous communities to have the status of Permanent Participant on the Arctic Council. The main goals of the organization are to strengthen unity among Inuit, to promote their rights and interests, and to ensure the development of Inuit culture.

The Saami council

The Saami Council is a voluntary Saami organization (a non-governmental organization), with Saami member organizations in Finland, Russia, Norway and Sweden. Since its foundation in 1956 the Saami Council has actively dealt with Saami policy tasks. For this reason the Saami Council is one of the indigenous peoples' organizations which have existed longest. The primary aim of the Saami Council is the promotion of Saami rights and interests in the four countries where the Saami are

living, to consolidate the feeling of affinity among the Saami people, to attain recognition for the Saami as a nation and to maintain the economic, social and cultural rights of the Saami in the legislation of the four states. (Norway, Sweden, Russia and Finland). This objective can be achieved through agreements between these states and the bodies representing the Saami people, the Saami parliaments. Saami Council renders opinions and makes proposals on questions concerning Saami people's rights, language and culture and especially on issues concerning Saami in different countries.

Russian Association of Indigenous people of North

RAIPON was created in 1990 at the First Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the North. The Association was originally called the "Association of Peoples of the North of the USSR" and united 26 indigenous groups of the North. On November 24, 1993 the Association was registered as public political movement "Association of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of Russian Federation" and on July, 1999 it was reregistered.

Its goal are protection of human rights, defence of the legal interests of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, and the assistance in solution of environmental, social and economic problems, and the problems of cultural development and education. RAIPON works to guarantee the right on protection of native homelands and traditional way of life as well as the right to self governance according to the national and international legal standards.

The Barents Euro-Arctic Council

The Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (now more commonly know as the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, the Barents Council and, less commonly, as BEAC) is one of the two main institutions for the multilateral Barents Cooperation that emerged in the 1993. The objective of the work of the Council will be to promote sustainable development in the Region, bearing in mind the principles and recommendations set out in the Rio Declaration. The Council will serve as a forum for considering bilateral and

multilateral cooperation in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology, tourism, the environment, infrastructure, educational and cultural exchange, as well as projects particularly aimed at improving the situation of indigenous peoples in the North.

The Nordic Council of Ministers:

The Nordic Council of Ministers (NCM) is the cooperation and consultation body organized by the Nordic countries to address goals and strategies of common interest. It is made up of the ministers of state, as well as other ministers with responsibility for the subject under discussion at specific meetings, of the member countries. The Nordic Council of Ministers was created in 1971 through an amendment to the Helsinki Convention (1962) between the Nordic countries.

Recommendations Given to the Government by Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation

The Northern Dimension to Canada's Foreign Policy Must Have a Human Focus

Canada was a leader in promoting international awareness of the human dimension of the Arctic in international fora, particularly the Arctic Council, but there was a perception that this focus and commitment has decreased in recent years. Many northerners are in crisis as a result of suicide, substance abuse, sexual abuse and mental illness. Addressing these issues is critical if Canadians are to build the capacity of the North to be successfully involved in national and international policy initiatives. Canada should renew its commitment to take practical and achievable initiatives internationally that can support sustainable communities in the North and provide economic and educational opportunities for youth, in particular.

- Capacity building for youth in particular is required. In the foreign policy context this could be achieved, in part, through mentorship and by creating opportunities

for youth to participate in meetings and activities of the Arctic Council and its working groups.

- Use the climate change issue to generate more interest in Canadians about their North. Educating Canadians of all ages about the importance of the North in Canadian and global affairs.
- Use devolution and land claims implementation to strengthen the roles of northerners and help enforce Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic.

Canada's Arctic Sovereignty must be Asserted

Canada's Arctic sovereignty should be part and parcel of a broader Northern strategy that would integrate local, regional, and national concerns and interests into the northern dimension of Canada's foreign policy. Arctic sovereignty assertion is best achieved through a partnership between Ottawa and the North.

A Coherent Policy Framework is required

A comprehensive, detailed and coherent policy framework that unites domestic and foreign policy vis-à-vis the North is required to guide federal actions and decisions. The current policy vacuum makes it difficult to make good decisions that achieve long-term objectives. Canada needs to rethink and articulate clear policy objectives to guide its actions in the North. Many participants noted that when Canada defines clear objectives it often performs well to achieve them. A new northern policy framework will have to address among other things the human dimension; sovereignty and security; marine policy including domestic and international shipping and transportation; devolution and management of natural resources, implementation of land claims and self-government agreements; the knowledge, research, and education agenda; infrastructure development and maintenance; adaptation to climate change; and bilateral and multilateral relationships with our Arctic neighbours.

NDFP Requires Reform to the Machinery of Government

Whether the machinery of government is adequately serving northern Canadians and achieving objectives of the NDFP was a recurring theme. There was a shared view that adjusting the machinery of government would not achieve a great deal in the absence of a northern vision grounded in a clear understanding of Canada's national interests in the North. The North continues to receive little attention on the national political agenda.

Existing Institutions Must Deliver

Considerable time and energy has been expended in establishing institutions to address northern issues including the northern dimension to Canada's foreign policy. There was a shared concern that some of these institutions are not working as they should. Canada is not making full use of the Arctic Council essentially a Canadian initiative for lack of policy direction, focus, co-ordination and resources and possible actions include:

- Arctic Council: Canada should reconsider how best to develop and coordinate its substantive contributions to the Arctic Council, and how to better utilize the information and other resources emerging from this forum in developing Canadian policy and advancing Canadian interests.
- Permanent Participants: The three Canadian-based permanent participants to the Arctic Council, they are: Arctic Athabaskan Council, Gwich'in Council International, and Inuit Circumpolar Council contribute significantly to selected elements of the council's work. Canada should make every effort to increase its support to these organizations in this unique circumpolar intergovernmental forum.
- Canadian Polar Commission: Canada's Polar Commission has few resources and a minor role in developing Canada's domestic northern policy and the northern dimension to its foreign policy. The commission should be reformed, re-energized and refinanced.

The Vision of North should be completed

In consultation with the territorial governments, Arctic indigenous peoples and other Northern stakeholders, the Government of Canada should complete the “Northern Strategy/Northern Vision” initiative begun in December 2004 which is a vision they share to have a prosperous and sustainable North that will benefit Northerners and all Canadians.

NDFP should be Upgraded and Expanded

Increased political, intellectual and fiscal resources should be devoted to its implementation. Increasing the capacity of northerners, particularly youth, to promote circumpolar perspectives should be featured in the Northern dimension.

Strong leadership role

Canada should take a more visible and assertive leadership role in the Arctic Council’s sustainable development activities, including projects that assist northerners adapt to the unavoidable impacts of global climate change.

International Polar Year

The International Polar Year is a large scientific programme focused on the Arctic and the Antarctic from March 2007 to March 2008 but was continued till 2009. IPY was organized through the International Council for Science (ICSU) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), was actually the fourth polar year, following those in 1882-3, 1932-3, and 1957-8. In order to have full and equal coverage of both the Arctic and the Antarctic, IPY 2007-8 covers two full annual cycles from March 2007 to March 2009 and had involved over 200 projects, with thousands of scientists from over 60 nations examining a wide range of physical, biological and social research topics. It was also an unprecedented opportunity to demonstrate, follow and get involved with

cutting edge science in real time. The main Urgencies of IPY were mostly with melting snow and ice, changing global linkages, new experience with neighbors of the North⁶¹.

The future prosperity of Canada's North will be influenced by their capacity to work with their regional partners to develop a common strategy for the sustainable development of the circumpolar region. Within Canada and the circumpolar region, there is recognition that future security and prosperity are closely connected with Canada's ability to effectively manage Northern issues. In circumpolar affairs, Canada has been regarded as an important player. Arctic nations consider Canada as an important role model in leadership and diplomacy. The NDFP demonstrates Canada's continuing commitment to maintaining this role. Canadian foreign policy should also be framed, where possible, in concert with northerners priorities and after careful dialogue with Northern residents.

Canada's current Arctic policy initiative does promise a renewed focus on aboriginal people in the north. However, it does not address any environmental concern. While the Harper government has been criticized in the past for not dealing with environmental issues, Canada's focus in the north has historically been directed towards issue of international relations rather than environmental protection. Even the 1970 Arctic Waters Pollution prevention Act (AWPPA) was arguably more about proclaiming Canada's right to regulate passage through arctic waters rather than a concern for the environment. (Jess W.Kiline 2007). The increasing importance of the region in the international relations has made the North a prominent feature in the Canadian foreign and domestic policy. The policy initiative announced by Canadian government strengthens its position as a player in the Arctic region and helps Canada maintain control over its Arctic territories.

⁶¹ <http://ipy-osc.no/article/2010/1276298669.27>

Chapter: 5

Conclusion

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

An overview of the Canadian Arctic region was given in details i.e., geography, demography, climate, vegetation, resources etc. A brief overview of the issues and concerns of the Canadian Arctic region is necessary to broadly understand the issues. As the chapter moves on research on the given hypothesis is dealt with. Firstly, Canadian Arctic region is the key to the future Canadian prosperity using underdeveloped and undiscovered resources like hydrocarbons which is still an estimate in the region. Secondly, Arctic region is opening up due to climate change; various circumpolar states are claiming the Arctic region which will exacerbate Canadian security and sovereignty concerns. Thirdly with the disappearance of the ice sheets in the Arctic and the opening up of the navigable maritime route in Canada's northern territories. Circumpolar states as well as other countries that formally had no interest in the region may pursue their national interest. Later in the chapters the given hypotheses is dealt with.

Chapter two begins with the main sovereignty issues in the region of high Arctic and how it is affecting the Canadian Arctic region. The debate surrounding the Canadian Arctic sovereignty in the Arctic is not new but recently it has gained a new vigor because of the climate change and the consequent warming of the Canadian Arctic. The chapter revolves around three main factors i.e. melting of the Canadian Arctic ice, issue of Northwest Passage (NWP) and threat to Canadian sovereignty by increased international shipping. To understand the core sovereignty issue of the region a clear understanding or knowledge what exactly the term sovereignty means is needed. Next the chapter attempts to go back to the history of sovereignty claims made by Canada on the region. The Canadian Arctic sovereignty has a long history when in 1880 British transferred the islands to Canada. So very concept of sovereignty in the region since than was well established and with the passage of time it has also evolved.

As the time moved by various theories, methods and techniques were adopted to claim the region. Lot of voyages and discoveries were made to claim undiscovered islands. Later Canadian government developed the RCMP in the Arctic Archipelago in 1922, which was stationed in northern settlements to provide Canadian authority in the region and support Canada's territorial claims. By 1924 Canada used sector theory to claim its sovereignty; by 1933 the international court of justice assisted Canada in claiming sovereignty in the region. So with all these happening there is a growing sovereignty claims the Arctic region from the Canadian government. As the time passed by sovereignty issues got more complex and the disputes got more difficult to resolve. Canada. At present Canada have several disputes with other circumpolar nations like United States, Russia, Denmark, and Norway and to an extent with the European Union. These disputes are basically over maritime issues than over territorial ones. Next in these chapter an analyses is done on various kind of changes taking place in the region of Arctic which is somehow affecting the sovereignty claims of Canada and its other circumpolar and non circumpolar states too. It focuses on issues like transforming Arctic, climate change and Geo-political transformation.

Ongoing transformation of the north makes a moving target of the effort to come to the terms with the issues of protection and control in the Canadian Arctic region. Transformation is leading to more accessibility in to region and is attracting more interest in the region leading to conflicting claims among the nations of the high north. Further climate change is causing major ecological, social, cultural, economical and geo political shift. Arctic is slowly and surely turning in to zone of natural resources and with the global warming catching its heat to the peak exploration of such resources will get easier. According to USGS world's remaining 25 per cent of undiscovered oil and gas deposits is here in the Arctic buried under the ice. Big company like Exxon has made a successful bid over \$585 million for five years exploration in Mackenzie delta and beau Fort Sea. Shell another big company has attempted to begin a \$44 million exploration process.

Major Geo political transformation took place in the region of Arctic, because during the Cold War the region had strategic value acting as shortest route for nuclear war between

the super powers. Whereas Arctic at this point of time is witnessing a diminishing role of defence. Arctic geo politics is affected by new issues some arising out of the climate changes which has raised Arctic in the international arena. The most fundamental geo political issue concerning the Arctic states has been of sovereignty dealing with international borders, EEZ, maritime disputes etc.

In the next chapter the most contentious issues in the Arctic is analysed because of which the sovereignty of Canada is threatened. A detailed survey of each issue is done in this section of the chapter. Claims and counter claims of various circumpolar states are studied which are threatening the sovereignty of Canada. Northwest Passage issue can be considered the most contentious issue at present; dispute which is going on in a major way between United States of America and Canada. Canada claims the water to be its internal waters whereas United States claims that it is more of international waters. The next major issue is of Beaufort Sea this is another dispute which revolves around the boundary issue between United States and Canada. The only land issue which Canada faces in the present day is of Hans Island, a dispute between Canada and Denmark. Lastly the dispute of Extended continental shelves and Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), every state belonging to the circumpolar north is claiming the region in their own fashion and threatening others, a kind of resource rush is seen for undiscovered resources. All these issues still remain unsettled.

The Arctic's profile in the foreign policy of the concerned countries of the region has been raised for last twenty years as the value of the region seems to increase every year. There is a mad race going on the Arctic region and the states are by this time are well aware that the resources are actually available beneath the ice covered region. Even Canada is not behind in the race and claims it share like any other circumpolar states doing. As the resource rush begins conflicting claims and overlapping claims over the region is seen which is harming the sovereignty of Canada in a big way. Canadian sovereignty is facing problem due to the resource rush, opening up of the shipping routes through its internal water i.e. NWP as it claims. The magnitude of changes taking place in

the Canadian north and the threats that Canada face in the present day cannot be underestimated.

The next chapter is about major security issues of the Canadian Arctic region. The strategic importance of the region is analyzed in the given chapter covering both the Cold War period and the post Cold War period. The region had no strategic importance prior to the Second World War and the value developed only during the Second World War period and grew further during the Cold War. During the Cold War the region of Canadian Arctic acted as a buffer zone between United States and USSR the mighty super powers of that period. Canada was seen siding with United States in the Cold War period against USSR, both the nations jointly established the NORAD and the DEW line for its security, an effort carried on by the states to deter the intentions of USSR against the North America.

The threat during Cold War period was basically traditional by nature. As the Cold War ends the global system has changed and continues to change further. It is no longer static or symmetrical it has gone more fluid and has become non bi-polar with the collapse of USSR. In the next section of the study deals with the various stands and positions of the Arctic states over the region. A detailed analysis of every state is done of the states bordering the region and how it will impact the Canadian security at large. Geo political positions, issues, strategies, military developments and claims are discussed in this section. As the cold war ends the concept of security also gets altered from so called traditional security threats to non traditional security threats like environmental security, human security, energy security and various other threats.

Due the climate change various claims are made by the circumpolar nations discussed in the previous chapter. The traditional security threats has not all together vanished since all most all the states of the region is building up their military capability in the region and they are doing it because of the security dilemma⁶². All most all Arctic states

⁶² Security dilemma is a term used in international relations and refers to a situation in which actions by a state intended to heighten its security, such as increasing its military strength or making alliances, can lead

surprises Canada with their military capability and threatens its security. Canadian security is threatened by the growing interest of states which are both Arctic and non Arctic. Energy crisis, growing oil prices is the story of the day and no one can ignore the fact. So to overcome the crisis and maintain a suitable position in the international scenario, Arctic states and even Non Arctic states are claiming the region to own it and exploit it. The climate change combined with improved technologies and market conditions, has also facilitated increased access to the region. The impact of climate change in the Arctic heightens the security issues in the region.

Chapter four covers exclusively on the Canadian foreign policy over the Arctic region. Foreign policy over the northern Arctic region is very vital which comprises of Northwest Territories (NWT), Yukon and Nunavut, one basic reason behind it is that whatever happens outside the borders of Canada has a great impact on the northerners basically the aboriginal people. A detailed analysis is done how Canadian Northern interest is getting shifted with time i.e. from the Cold War period to till the present day world. Various events, measures, policies adopted of each decade taken by Canadian government in collaboration with its circumpolar Arctic states are taken in to account. Next Northern Dimension of Foreign Policy (NDFP) is a vision set out for Canada based on co-operation with the Northerners and with their circumpolar neighbors. In recent times the idea of distinctive Northern Dimension or cross border policy towards the circumpolar North has gained interest in Canada, United States, European Union and Russia. NDFP's goal objectives recommendations are mentioned in the given chapter in details.

The North has taken on new importance in Canadian foreign policy. Due to globalization the region gets exposed to new political, social, cultural, economical and environmental forces, which often diminishes the regional control over events, and to control these forces and international cooperation is imperative. An evaluation of NDFP's working is

other states to respond with similar measures, producing increased tensions that create conflict, even when no side really desires it. The term was coined by John H. Herz in his 1951 book *Political Realism and Political Idealism*. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Security_dilemma).

done in the next section in detail. There are various existing institutions in the region which work for the betterment of the Arctic North. There are various institutions set up by the circumpolar states; a broad analysis of each institution is done in the section. The NDFP reinforces the federal government's commitment to the north and to northern peoples. In circumpolar affairs Canada has been regarded as an important player. The NDFP demonstrates Canada's continuing commitment to maintaining its role in the region.

In sum Canadian sovereignty and security is one of the major issues in the contemporary Canadian Arctic region, so the value of NDFP cannot be underestimated, since it deals with the enhancement of security and preservation of sovereignty of the Canadian's and especially to the northerners. The Arctic region is a current focus for future energy, security and politics. The Arctic is becoming the subject of discussion among political leader's of the circumpolar states. Climate change in the Arctic region is occurring, most importantly causing the sea ice melt and potential future of vast trade and commerce can be seen in the region in the form of commercial shipping, fisheries and expansion of tourism etc. As the ice melts and as the region opens up various threats related to security and sovereignty looms around and faith of Canadian north in this context cannot be denied.

On the of Canadian Arctic sovereignty issue, the strength of Canada's claim to the Arctic sovereignty is directly related to the prosperity of its northern citizens and its ability to control international maritime traffic in NWP. Canada must also increase its regulatory enforcement capabilities in the Arctic waters. Along with the regulatory very important step is to promote and protect the wild life, environment and development of Arctic citizens. Conflicting claims due to resource rush in the region is in evitable. Threats to Canadian sovereignty in the present day world are not of military threats but socio-economic and environmental by nature. Peaceful cooperation among the states of the circumpolar worlds will also strengthen the claims of Canada on the international stage.

On the security dimension the Canadian Arctic security concept has undergone tremendous change in both meaning and on its impact on the region. Since the end of Cold War the Arctic and its people have experienced new challenges to its security. The end of Cold War has reduced but not eliminated the issues pertaining to traditional security in the region. There are three main areas of continued concern: nuclear deterrence, nuclear defence and terrorism. Canadian neighbouring states have reduced but not completely eliminated their nuclear deterrent force. New kind of security issues have erupted in the region which cannot be under looked like the environmental security, energy security, cultural security and human security basically witnessed due to climate change and global warming. Threat of terrorism, illegal trade via the Arctic waters is also predicted as the Arctic ice melts.

Policy-makers are determining which main threats to northern security. The main Arctic states are developing new policies that focus on both their foreign and their defence policies in the region. The Arctic is now receiving lot of attention in the international front. The processes that are transforming the Arctic are causing these states to take this region much more seriously than they have in the past.

Arctic has fragile ecosystem an urgent need of comprehensive international body that can properly entrench co-operation on a multitude of issues in the region and ensure that environmental hazards and conflicts are looked after is required. The changing nature of political, cultural, social, ecological understanding shapes the usage of the Arctic. The consequences of global change and resource pressure and the conflicting political, cultural and aesthetic values of the region concerning its future make a theoretical rethinking of the Arctic in geo-political terms is necessary. The factors that have pushed the Canadian policy makers to re-examine Arctic security and sovereignty will not disappear since issue like terrorism will remain a threat to North American security, climate change is not going to reverse and the resource rush due to opening up of the Arctic ice will also not decrease. Research on both natural and social science in the Arctic will be valued increasingly because of the contribution it makes understand the global issues.

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